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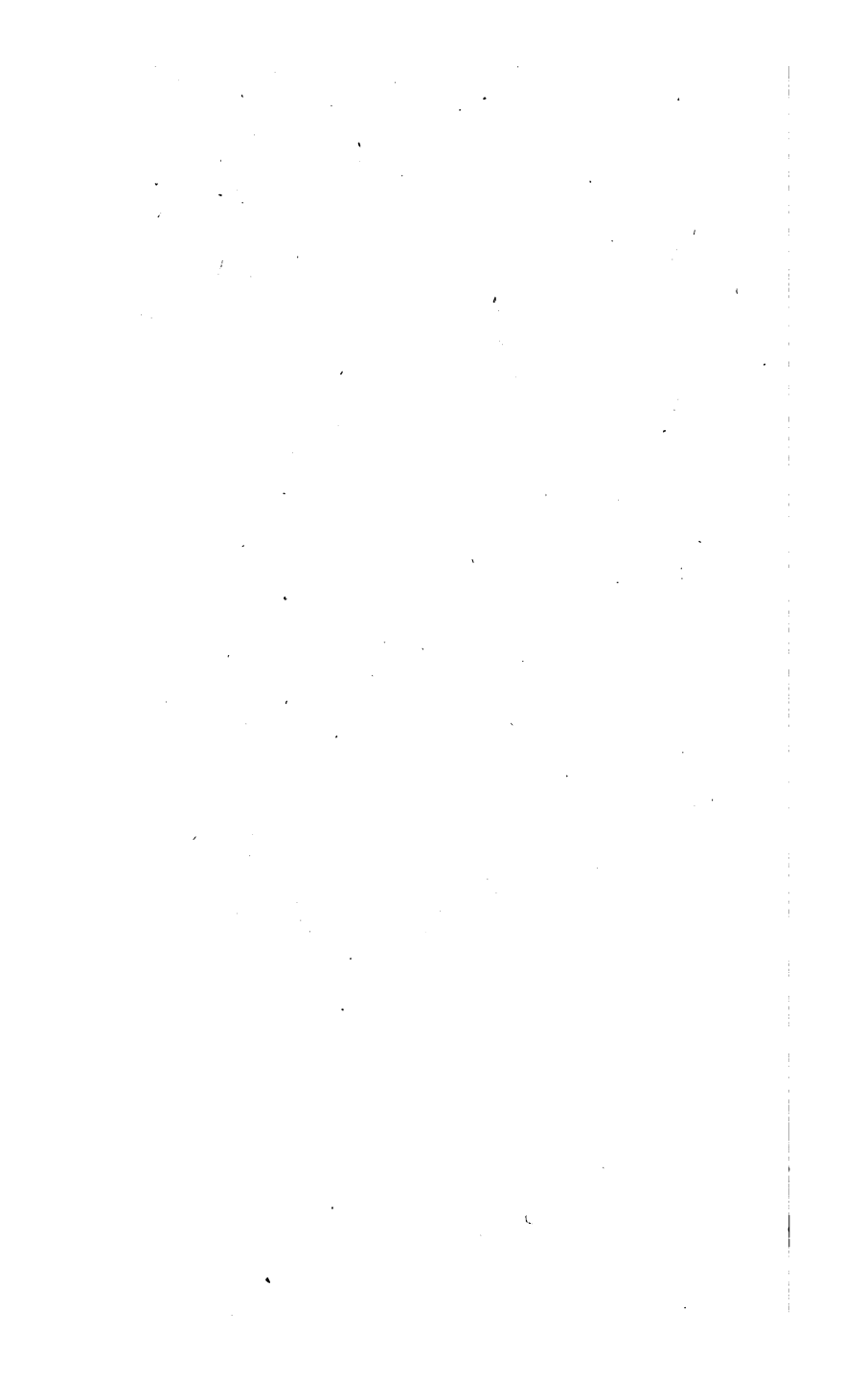
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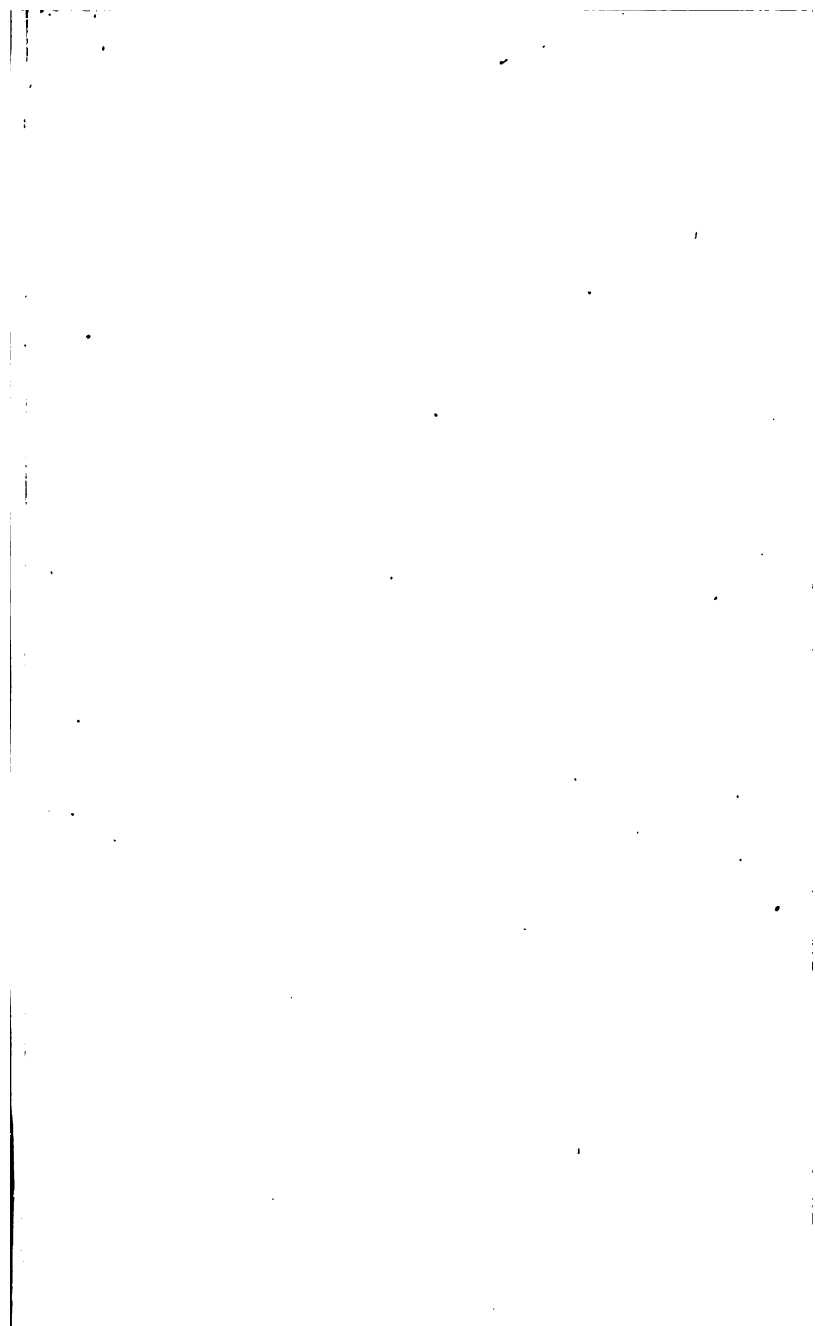


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ANALYSIS OF HERODOTUS.

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AN
ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY
OF
HERODOTUS.

WITH
A SYNCHRONISTICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS;
TABLES OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, MONEY, AND DISTANCES;
AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY;
AND THE DATES COMPLETED FROM
GAISFORD, BAEHR, ETC.

BY
J. TALBOYS WHEELER,
AUTHOR OF "AN ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY OF THUCYDIDES," ETC.

Second Edition, Revised.

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NEW YORK
JAN 10 1891
JAN 10 1891

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE object of the present work is to assist the student in "getting up" the History of Herodotus, after a careful reading of the original text of his author. Accordingly it contains an analytical Summary of all the important events recorded by the historian, in the exact order in which they were written.* Each Book of this Summary is separated into divisions, and each division into paragraphs, all of which have the contents appended in a peculiar type; these contents are also thrown together, and reprinted at the beginning of each Book. By these means every digression is carefully marked, and wherever one occurs a reference is also given to the chapter where the main history is continued; so that the student has the option of reading through the Summary in the exact order in which Herodotus wrote, or of reading the main history apart from the digressions. In addition to this analytical Summary and analytical Contents, the present work also contains a Synchronistical Table of the principal events in chronological order, arranged from the dates of Baehr, Larcher, and Dr. Gaisford; a Table of Herodotean weights, measures, money, distances, etc., compiled for the first time from Dahlmann's *Life*, Hussey's *Essay*, and Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*; an Introductory Outline of the history and geography of Herodotus;

* This rule has been slightly transgressed in one or two instances, where a decided advantage was gained by a transposition of the text; but none of these are worth mentioning save one in Book II., where the list of god-kings prior to Menes is placed in its proper chronological position.

the Chronology added to every page of the history ; and every important reference inserted throughout the book.

The peculiarities in the History of Herodotus renders some such aid as the present indispensable. Even the hard-working student, who makes his own analysis, may find it greatly assist in lightening his labours and increasing his knowledge of the historian ; especially as particular attention has been paid to the wants of those who are preparing for an University examination.

In carrying out the above design, the author has been also desirous of rendering the History of Herodotus intelligible to the mere English reader. He has therefore made no pretensions to lofty style or literal translation, but chiefly sought to relate the facts in clear and concise language, retaining as far as possible the peculiar opinions of the Father of History. At the same time, by the addition of analytical Contents, the insertion of dates, and by clearness of typographical arrangement, he has endeavoured to link together the scattered digressions of the history, and render the whole of this intricate narrative as easy of comprehension as a modern history. How far he has been successful it remains for the reader to judge ; the difficulties of the task can only be known to the student of Herodotus.

J. T. W.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN preparing a new edition for the press, the author has availed himself of the opportunity afforded him, for correcting the various errors of his first impression, and for making such additions and alterations as will, he hopes, more than double the value of his unpretending volume. He has devoted more time to this revision than was originally employed in the compilation of the entire work, and has especially endeavoured to reconcile the accounts of Herodotus with those of the Old Testament, and to render his general history more comprehensible and interesting, not only to the classical student, but also to the general reader. Digested summaries of the ancient histories of Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Scythia, etc., have been incorporated in the form of notes, and a variety of explanatory matter has been bracketed in the text; and a brief geographical guide to the reader has been inserted in the form of marginal illustrations. The oracles have also been translated into English verse, and all the weights, measures, money, and distances have been reduced into corresponding English terms in round numbers, but the table of more exact calculations has been inserted as before at the beginning of the work.

In conclusion, the author cannot but express his gratification at the favour with which both this and his other Analyses have been received by the press and the public; and the success which has attended them, induces him now to acknowledge their authorship. For the future, however, he will have no further share in their publication, as they will be henceforth included in the New Series of Classical Illustrative Works published by Mr. Bohn, to the cheapness and utility of which it will be unnecessary to allude, though more than sufficient to recommend them to the notice of every scholar.

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

● CAMBRIDGE,
Oct. 1, 1852.

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THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN HERODOTUS.

BARBARIANS.

<i>Phœnicians.</i>	<i>Egyptians.</i>	<i>Assyrians and Babylonians.</i>		<i>Lydians.</i>	<i>Scythians and Cimmerians.</i>
Migrated from the Erythræan Sea to Phœnicia, cir. 2267. Colonized Thasos, 1550. Founded Carthage, 819. Circumnavigate Libya, 609.	God-kings, 17570 to 15570. Menes to Mœris, 2235 to 1416. Sesostris to Sethon, 1416 to 671. Twelve kings to Amasis, 671 to 525.	<p> <i>B. C.</i> Empire 1221—711 Semiramis 747—733 Medic revolt 711 </p> <p> <i>Babylonia.</i> Nitocris, 604 to 561. Turns the Euphrates and improves Babylon. Labynetus, (Belshazzar), son of Nitocris, succeeds. Amasis, 671 to 525. Cyaxares and Alyattes. </p>	<p> <i>Media, etc.</i> Deioces, 700. Div. the Medes. Phraortes, 647. Invades Assyria. Perished before Nineveh. Cyaxares, 625. Conq. Assyria. Besieges Nineveh, 603. Scythian invasion, 624—596. Astyages, 585. Cyrus born, 571. King in sport, 561. <i>Persian Empire.</i> Cyrus, king, 550. Attacked by Croesus. Conquers Lydia, and takes Sardis. Mazares punishes Lydian rebels. Harpagus takes Phœcia, conquers Ionia and Æolis. Babylon taken by Cyrus, 536. Massagetan expedition. Cyrus slain, 530. </p>	<p> Atyadæ to 1221. Hersacildæ, 1221—716. Gyges, 716. Ardys, 678. Cimmerians take Sardis, 634. Sadyattes, 629. Milesian war, 622—610. Alyattes, 617. Drove out Cimmerians, 613. War with Cyaxares, 602. Croesus, 560. Conquers Greeks. Visited by Solon. Invaded by Darius, 508. Invade the Chersonesus; Miltiades retires, 507. </p>	<p> Cimmerians invade Asia, but expelled by the Scythians about 624. Scythians rule Upper Asia, 624 to 596. Invaded by Darius, 508. Invade the Chersonesus; Miltiades retires, 507. </p>
<p> CAMBESSES, 530—523. Conquers Egypt, 525. Unsuccessful expedition against the Ethiopians and Ammonians. Wounds Apis. Goes mad. Slays his brother Smerdis. Marries and kills his sister. Magian revolt. Dies, 523. </p>					
<p> SMERDIS MAGUS, 523. Conspiracy of the Seven. Death of the Magi. </p>					
<p> DARIUS, 522—485. Sends Democydes to spy Greece. Babylonian revolt. Babylon taken by Zopyrus, 516. Restores Syloson to Samos, 512. Barca conquered, 512. Invades Scythia, 508. Megabazus subdues Thrace. Otanes subdues Lemnos and Imbros. Disturbances in Ionia. Burning of Sardis, 503. Cyprians join the revolt, 502; conquered, 501. Miletus taken, 498. Pacification of Ionia, 497. Mardonius marches against Greece, 495. Wrecked at Athos. Darius sends to Greece for earth and water, 493. Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, 492; enslave Naxos and Eretria, 496. Marathon, 490. Preparations for another invasion, 489. Egyptian revolt, 486. </p>					
<p> XERXES, 485—479. Subdues Egypt, 484. Prepares for a Greek expedition. Leaves Susa, April, 481. Winters at Sardis. Battle of Thermopylæ, 480. Takes Athens, 480. Battle of Salamis, Sept., 480. Retires to Asia. Mardonius defeated at Platæa, and the Persian fleet at Mycale, the same day, Sept. 22, 479. </p>					

HERODOTEAN WEIGHTS AND MONEY, DRY AND LIQUID MEASURES, AND MEASUREMENTS OF LENGTH.

Euboic or Attic Silver Weights and Money.

		WEIGHT (Avoirdupois).			VALUE.			
		lbs.	oz.	grs.	£	s.	d.	farth.
1 Obol		—	—	11.08	—	—	1	2.5
6 Obols	1 Drachma	—	—	66.5	—	—	9	3
100 Drachmæ	1 Mina	—	15	33.75	4	1	3	
60 Minæ	1 Talent	56	15½	100.32	243	15	0	

Eginetan Silver Weights and Money.

		lbs.	oz.	grs.	£	s.	d.	farth.
1 Obol		—	—	16	—	—	2	1.166
6 Obols	1 Drachma	—	—	96	—	1	1	3
100 Drachmæ	1 Mina	1	5½	78.96				
60 Minæ	1 Talent	82	3½	30.46				

The gold Stater of Cæresus and the gold Daricus are each supposed to be worth about 20 Attic silver drachmæ, or 16s. 3d.

Herodotus makes the Babylonian Talent equal to 70 Euboic minæ, but Hussey calculates its weight at 71lbs. 1¼oz. 69.45grs. If however either of these are reckoned by comparison with our gold money, they would be worth much more.

Attic Dry Measures.

		gallons.	pints.
1 Chœnix		—	1.9822
48 Chœnices	1 Medimnus	11	7.1456
1 Medimnus and } 3 Chœnices	1 Persian Artaba	12	5.092

Liquid Measures.

		gallons.	pints.
1 Chœnix		—	1.4867
48 Chœnices	1 Amphora	8	7.365

Hesychius considers the Aryster to be the same as the Cotyla, which Hussey calculates to hold .4955 of a pint.

Measures of Length.

		miles.	yards.	feet.	inches.
1 Digit (finger's breadth)		—	—	—	.7584
4 Digits	1 Palm (hand-breadth)	—	—	—	3.0336
3 Palms	1 Span	—	—	—	9.1008
4 Palms	1 Foot	—	—	1	0.135
2 Spans or 6 Palms	1 Cubit	—	—	1	6.2016
1 Cubit and 6 Digits	1 Royal Cubit	—	—	1	8.4768
4 Cubits	1 Fathom (Orgya)	—	—	6	0.81
100 Feet or 16½ Orgyæ	1 Plethrum	—	33	2	1.5
6 Plethra	1 Stadium	—	202	0	9
30 Stadia	1 Persian Parasang	3	787	1	6
2 Parasangs	1 Schœnus	6½	494	3	0

The Egyptian Cubit contained nearly 17½ inches.

The Arura contained 21,904 square English feet.

INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE

OF THE

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS.

THE design of Herodotus was to record the struggles between the Greeks and Barbarians, but in carrying it out he is perpetually led to trace the causes of the grand events of his history ; to recount the origin of that mighty contest betwixt liberty and despotism which marked the period ; to describe the wondrous manners and mysterious religion of nations, and the marvellous geography and fabulous productions of countries, as each one appeared on the great arena ; to tell to an inquisitive and credulous people of cities vast as provinces, and splendid as empires,—of stupendous walls, temples, and pyramids,—of dreams, omens, and warnings from the dead,—of obscure predictions and their exact accomplishment ; and thus to prepare their minds for the most wonderful story in the annals of man ; when all Asia united in one endless array to crush the states of Greece ; when armies bridged the seas and navies sailed through mountains ; when proud and stubborn hearts arose amid anxiety, terror, confusion, and despair, and staked their lives and homes against the overwhelming power of a foreign despot, till heaven itself sympathized with their struggles, and the winds and waves delivered their country and opened the way to victory and revenge.

The subject chosen by Herodotus was thus truly national. In **Book I.** he traces the enmity between Europe and Asia to the mythical times ; but rapidly passing to Cræsus, the first Asiatic whom he knew to have attacked the Greeks, he pro-

ceeds to relate the principal events of his life, including the early history of the Lydian kings, and notices of the contemporaneous state of Athens and Sparta. The conquest of Lydia by Cyrus, the capture of Sardis, and fall of Croesus, brings the Persian power on the stage in the place of the Lydian. The main narrative now reverts to the overthrow of the Medic dynasty by Cyrus, and the increase of the Persian empire by the subjugation of Asia Minor and Babylon; it includes a sketch of the delightful colonies of Ionia, and the origin of the Greeks who colonized the front of Asia: and the book is concluded by an account of the Massagetæ, and unfortunate expedition against them in which Cyrus was slain.

Book II. commences with the accession of Cambyses and projected invasion of Egypt, and from this point it digresses into a complete history of Egypt and the Egyptians, which occupies the entire book.

In **Book III.** the main thread of the history is once more resumed; the reign of Cambyses, his conquest of Egypt and unsuccessful expeditions against the Ethiopians and Ammonians, together with the Magian revolt, reign of the false Smerdis, and elevation of Darius, are continued in the same detailed manner; and an account is included of the power of Samos under Polycrates, and of his tragical end. The institutions established by Darius at the beginning of his reign afford Herodotus an opportunity of surveying the whole Persian empire with all its provinces and revenues, in which he includes remarks on the earth's extremities, and the rumoured productions of India, Arabia, Ethiopia, and distant regions of North-western Europe. The book concludes with an account of the first spies sent to Greece, the restoration of Syloson to Samos, and the revolt and recapture of Babylon.

Book IV. comprehends a history of the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, which, though it failed to endanger their freedom, first opened Europe to the Persians. This leads the historian to describe the various tribes of Northern Europe, with their manners, religion, and condition. The kingdom of Persia now extended from Scythia to Cyrene, and a Persian army being called in by Queen Pheretime against the Barcæans, Herodotus proceeds to a history of the Cyrenæan colony, and an account of the Libyan nations, as an interesting companion to his description of Northern Europe.

Book V. commences with the conquest of Thrace and Macedonia by Megabazus, who, after the failure of the Scythian expedition, had remained in Europe with a portion of the Persian army. Meanwhile the great Ionian revolt broke out, and hurried on the struggle betwixt Persia and Greece. Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, besought Athens and Sparta to assist the revolt; upon which Herodotus continues the history of the Greek states from the point where he had left it in Book I., and particularly describes the rapid rise of the Athenians after throwing off the yoke of the Pisistratidæ. The enterprising spirit of this young republic is then shown by the interest it took in the Ionian revolt, which, being rashly begun and injudiciously carried on, terminated in a total defeat (**Book VI.**). Herodotus next pursues the increasing causes of animosity betwixt Persia and Greece, and annexes a detailed explanation of the relations and enmities of the Greek states in the period just preceding the first Persian war. The expedition against Eretria and Athens was the first blow struck by Persia at the mother-country of Greece, and the battle of Marathon was the first glorious signal that this Asiatic power, hitherto unchecked in its encroachments, had at length found its limit.

Book VII. commences with the death of Darius and accession of Xerxes. The history now flows on in a regular channel. The exciting narrative of the vast preparations for another expedition, the progress of the army, and the Greek campaign itself, moves at a slow pace and keeps the expectation upon the stretch. The march and mustering of the Persian array give full time and opportunity for forming a distinct and complete notion of its enormous force; whilst the negotiations of the Greek states afford an equally clear conception of those jealousies and dissensions which render the ultimate issue of the contest the more astonishing. After the preliminary and undecisive battles of Thermopylæ and Artemisium, (**Book VIII.**,) comes the decisive victory of the Greek allies at Salamis, which is described with the greatest vividness and animation. In **Book IX.** this is followed by the contemporaneous battles of Platæa and Mycale, with the other measures of the Greeks for turning their successes to account; and the whole work abruptly concludes with the supposed sentiment of the great Cyrus, that "it was not always the

richest and most fertile country which produced the most valiant men."

The system of Geography used by Herodotus is the earliest one known, but as it was simply used to explain his history, it is confined more to Asia and Africa than to Europe. Whilst the theatre of the events he has recorded spread over nearly all the known parts of Asia, and over Egypt and its dependencies in Africa, it included in Europe little more than the provinces bordering on the *Ægean*, the *Propontis*, the *Euxine*, and the *Palus Mæotis*; and as he presumed the various countries of Greece to be familiar to his readers, he only notices them in illustrating his description of others. In reviewing his system, it must be premised that he believed the earth to be flat, and not spherical; that he considered it as one continent, and Europe, Asia, and Africa as divisions, to the boundaries of which no importance was to be attached. He adopted the river *Phasis*, and not the *Tanais*, as the boundary for Asia; and the isthmus of *Suez*, and not the *Nile*, for Africa; but he afterwards excludes Egypt from both Asia and Africa, and plainly shows that he does not intend to divide the world into continents, but regions.

The limits of his geographical knowledge may be thus drawn. Of North-western Europe, beginning at the *Pillars of Hercules*, he had only heard that *Iberia*, and the countries of the *Cynetæ* and *Celtæ*, were bounded by the ocean, whilst the northern shore of both Europe and Asia running eastward from the south of the *Baltic* was washed, at a parallel of about 60° , by the same mysterious billows. The Eastern boundary of his world was a vast desert, unknown and unexplored: in the upper parts the mountains of *Altai* at the source of the *Irtish* seem to have limited his knowledge; whilst lower down the sandy deserts of *Tartary* and regions of *India* baffled his farther research. The *Erythræan* and *Atlantic* formed the south and western boundaries; but Herodotus knew not the vast extent of Southern Africa, as he did not believe its traditional circumnavigation by the *Phœnicians*.

In Europe, beginning at the *Pillars of Hercules* and running northward, Herodotus mentions *Iberia* (*Spain*); the countries of the *Cynetes* and *Celtæ* (*France*, etc.); the *Amber regions* (*Prussia*); and the *Cassiterides* (*British Isles*). South of these were *Ænotria* (*Italy*); the *Eneti* on the *Adri-*

atic; the Sigynnæ; Illyria; Greece; Macedonia; Pæonia; and Thrace. Eastward on the Pontus Euxinus and Palus Mæotis were the wilds of Western Scythia, with its seven surrounding nations, viz. the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Budini and Geloni, and Sauromatæ; whilst far eastward, north of the Caspian and stretching to the Altai mountains, were the fabulous nations of the Hyperboreans, Gryphons, one-eyed Arimaspi, Issedones, Argippæi, etc. Herodotus also mentions most of the large islands in the Mediterranean, viz. Sicania, (Sicily,) Crete, Sardinia, Cyprus, Cyrenus, (Corsica,) etc., together with the principal islands of the Ægean.

Asia Herodotus divided into four distinct regions.

I. The region from the Erythræan (Persian Gulf) to the eastern part of the Euxine, which, reckoning from the Erythræan, was occupied by, 1st, the Persians; 2nd, the Medes; 3rd, the Saspies; and 4th, the Colchians. In this tract was also included Matiene, Cissia, Eastern Armenia, etc.

II. The region westward of the first, including Asia Minor and Western Armenia. It was said to be occupied by 30 different nations. Asia Minor included Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Phrygia, and Cappadocia.

III. The region south of the first region and continued to the Erythræan, embracing all South-western Asia between the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, and including Assyria, Babylonia, Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, and Arabia.

IV. The region east of the first region. This was bounded on the north by the Caspian and river Araxes; on the south by the Erythræan; and on the east by the vast deserts of Tartary and utmost known parts of India. It comprehended Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Saca, Zaranga, the countries of the Parycanians and Asiatic Ethiopians, etc. The tract to the north-east was inhabited by the Massagetæ.

Africa. Although Herodotus had heard of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians, yet he was only acquainted with the northern regions extending from Cape Solæis on the west to the Isthmus of Suez on the east, and bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, and on the south by the vast deserts of Zahara, and river of Crocodiles on the

Atlantic side, and by the unexplored territories of the Macrobian Ethiopians and people of Nigritia on the side adjoining the Arabian Gulf.

Beginning at the Isthmus of Suez, Herodotus describes Egypt with its three divisions, and follows the course of the Nile past the capital of Ethiopia, to the country of the Automali. Adjoining Egypt, and running along the Mediterranean, are first the eastern or nomad Libyans, extending to Lake Tritonis and including the Greek colony of Cyrene. After these are the western or agricultural Libyans, including the Phœnician colony of Carthage, which, with some unknown nations beyond, stretch to the Atlantic. South of these Libyans is the Atlas chain, abounding in wild beasts and dates; and beyond this are the nations on the salt hills, which are bounded by the Zahara desert.

V The above outline is considered to contain all that is necessary to assist the student in recalling and mentally arranging his previously acquired information. Of the peculiar style of Herodotus,—his life, character, religious principles, and historical materials,—the inquisitive reader will find a condensed view in Müller's *Literature of Ancient Greece*, or in the new *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, edited by Dr. Wm. Smith: a more enlarged account is given in Dahlmann's admirable *Life of Herodotus*, lately translated from the German by G. V. Cox, Esq.

HERODOTUS.

(BORN AT HALICARNASSUS IN CARIA, ASIA MINOR, B. C. 484; WROTE HIS HISTORY AT THURIUM, IN SOUTH ITALY, ABOUT B. C. 408.)

BOOK I. CLIO.

LYDIAN AND PERSIAN CONQUESTS, AND EARLY GREEK AND BARBARIAN HISTORY, FROM THE RAPE OF IO TILL THE DEATH OF CYRUS.
B. C. 1687 to 530.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Origin of the War between the Greeks and Barbarians.*

Persian and Phœnician accounts of the Rapes of Io, 1687; Europa, 1582; Medea, 1349; and Helen, 1290.—Crœsus, 560, the first who attacked the Greeks. Chap. 1—6.

II. *Lydian History.*

Early Lydian dynasties: 1st, The Attyadæ, mythic; 2nd, The Heraclidæ, 1221-716; 3rd, The Mermnadæ, 716-546: viz.

1. Gyges, 716. Sent treasures to Delphi.
2. Ardys, 678. Took Priene: invaded Miletus: Cimmerian invasion.
3. Sadyattes, 629. Commenced the war with Miletus.
4. Alyattes, 617. Expelled Cimmerians: war with Miletus: story of Arion.
5. Crœsus, 560—546. Subdued Asiatic Greeks: allied with the islanders: conquers all within the Halys.—Visited by Solon.—Death of his son Atys.—Contemplated war with Cyrus: tests the oracles.—Gifts to Delphi and Amphiaræus.—Consults the oracle on a war with Persia.—Consults on the duration of his own monarchy.—Contemplates an alliance with the European Greeks. Chap. 7—56.

III. (*Digress.*) *Origin and contemporaneous state of Athens and Lacedæmon.*

Origin and distinctions of the Lacedæmonians (Hellenes) and the Athenians (Pelasgi).—Language of the Hellenes and Pelasgi.—Athens: birth of Pisistratus; his tyranny, 561-528; first exile and restoration; second exile and restoration; secures the government.—Lacedæmon: im-

proved by Lycurgus, 884; war with Tegea: Lacedæmonians defeated.—Become victorious through the bones of Orestes. Chap. 56—68.

IV. *Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.*

Croesus allies with the Lacedæmonians.—Prepares to invade Cappadocia.—The Halys.—Reasons for the invasion.—His relationship to Astyages.—Previous war between Cyaxares and Alyattes, 590-585.—Reaches the Halys.—Battle of Pteria, 546.—Returns to Sardis.—Prodigy of serpents.—Cyrus marches against Sardis.—Lacedæmonians at war concerning Thyrea.—Sardis taken, 546.—Croesus saved by his dumb son.—Placed on a pile, but released on mentioning Solon.—Subsequently esteemed by Cyrus.—His offerings in Greece.—Lydia: its country and manners.

Chap. 69—94.

V. (*Digress.*) *History of the Medes to the Reign of Cyrus.*

Herodotus follows the most truthful Persian authorities.—Assyrian empire, 1221-711.—Revolt of the Medes, 711.—Median dynasty, viz.

1. Deioces, 700. Builds Ecbatana: collects the Median tribes.
2. Phraortes, 647. Subdues the Persians: falls before Nineveh.
3. Cyaxares, 625. Organizes the Median army: Scythian invasion: defeat of the Medes: Scythians massacred.
4. Astyages, 585. Birth of Cyrus, 571: chosen king in sport: Persians under Cyrus revolt: ten Persian tribes: defeat of Astyages: end of the Medic dynasty.
5. Cyrus, 550. Persian manners and customs: character of their religion: social laws: education of youth: additional observations.

Chap. 95—140.

VI. *Account of Asiatic Greeks. Lydian Revolt, and Conquests of Mazares and Harpagus.*

Ionians and Æolians send to Cyrus.—Ionians, their cities and language.—Dorian cities.—Ionians in 12 cities, like the 12 divisions of the Achæans.—Their mixed descent.—Æolian cities.—Ionians and Æolians send to Sparta.—Lacedæmonians warn Cyrus.—Cyrus marches against Babylon.—Pactyes and the Lydians revolt.—Mazares punishes the rebels.—Harpagus succeeds him and invades Ionia.—Voyages of the Phocæans.—Phocæa taken.—Migration of the Phocæans.—Obtain a Cadmæan victory over the Carthaginians.—Colonize Hyela.—Teos taken.—Conquest of Ionia and Æolis completed.—Harpagus marches against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians.—Origin of Carians, Caunians, and Lycians.—Conquest of the Carians, Cnidians, and others.—The Pedasæans.—Conquest of the Lycians and Caunians.

Chap. 141—176.

VII. *Conquest of Assyria and War with the Massagetæ.*

Cyrus attacks the Assyrians (Babylonians).—Description of Babylon.—Semiramis, 747-733, and Nitocris, 604-561.—Tomb of Nitocris.—Cyrus marches against Labynetus, king of Assyria [Babylon].—Babylon taken, 536.—Greatness of Babylon.—Fertility of the country.—Babylonian manners, customs, and dress.—Cyrus attacks the Massagetæ.—The Araxes river.—The Caspian Sea.—Defeat of the Massagetæ.—Cyrus defeated and slain, 530.—Manners and customs of the Massagetæ. Chap. 177—216.

SUMMARY.

I. *Origin of the War between the Greeks and Persians, chap. 1—6.*

Herodotus born at Halicarnassus, B. C. 484: wrote at Thurium, 408.—Herodotus purposes to record the achievements of Greeks and Barbarians,* lest they should fade in oblivion or lose their renown, and also the causes of their hostility.

Persian account of the rape of Io, 1687; Europa, 1582; Medea, 1349; and Helen, 1290.—The Persian historians state that the Phœnicians migrated from the Erythræan† to the Mediterranean, and settled as in Phœnicia.‡ They then undertook distant trade and exported Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise whilst trading at Argos, the best town in Greece. They began the feud by seizing Io, daughter of king Argos, and carrying her into Egypt. Subsequent

* **Hellenes and Barbarians.**—All Greeks, whether or colonists, styled themselves Hellenes, and called all other nations, *βάρβαροι*, or “other-tongued.”

† **The Erythræan Sea.**—Herodotus applied the name (or Erythræan) Sea to the whole expanse of waters between Europe and Africa on the west and India on the east, including gulfs (the Red Sea and Persian Gulf). The rocks of the Egyptian side of the Arabian Gulf, supplied a name to this appellation, throwing out their *red colour* far into the Persian Sea. The Persians to this day retain the antithesis by calling the Mediterranean, the *White Sea*. Herodotus (ii. 11) distinguishes now call the Red Sea between Egypt and Arabia, by Arabian Gulf. Cf. *Dahlmann*.

‡ **Origin of the Phœnicians.**—Herodotus (vii. 89) gives the authority of the Phœnicians themselves for the name. Strabo, as quoted by Niebuhr, says, “This tradition suggests that the Phœnicians had commercial settlements in the Persian Gulf, as in other distant countries.” The Phœnicians, and Sidon, the first-born of Canaan, seem to have been the name of their first colony. Phœnicia proper was a narrow strip of mountainous territory on the coast of Syria, looking out on the Mediterranean. Her colonies were innumerable.

- Greeks, who were probably Cretans, carried Europa from Tyre, and afterwards went in a long ship to Ææa on the river Phasis in Colchis, and carried off Medea : and these having refused all satisfaction for their second violence, Alexandrus [Paris] was induced, in the second generation following, to steal Helen from Sparta, and take her to Ilium. The Greeks then warred with Asia, for which the Persians blamed them, holding it wicked to ravish, but foolish to revenge it. Since the capture of Ilium the Persians have considered the Greeks as foes, for they claim Asia and its various tribes for themselves, and regard Europe and the Greeks as distinct.
- 5 **Phœnician account.**—These state that Io was not forced, but that having been dishonoured by the master of a Phœnician vessel, she voluntarily accompanied him to avoid detection. Herodotus now proceeds to notice both little and great nations, for many of the former were originally mighty, and the latter insignificant.
- 6 **Croesus, 560.**—Son of Alyattes, was tyrant of the nations westward of the Halys, a river running between the Syrians and Paphlagonians from south to north, and falling into the Euxine (c. 72). He was the first Asiatic prince who attacked the Greeks. He subdued the Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian settlers in Asia, [on the western coast of Asia Minor,] and allied with the Lacedæmonians (c. 69, 70). Before his reign all the Greeks were free, for the Cimmerian invasion (c. 15 and iv. 12) was solely for rapine.

II. *Lydian History*, chap. 7—56.

- 7 **Early Lydian Dynasties: 1st, The Atyadæ, mythic.**—Western Asia Minor. Descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, grandson of Manes, (c. 94,) from whom the nation, formerly Mæonians, were called Lydians.
- 2nd, The Heracleidæ, 1221—716.**—Descendants of Alcæus, son of Heracles and a female slave of Jardanus, who being intrusted with the government by the Atyadæ, seized it in obedience to an oracle. AGRON, son of Ninus, grandson of Belus, great-grandson of Alcæus, was the first who reigned in Sardis, [the Lydian capital,] and CANDAULES, called by the Greeks Myrsilus, was

the last. The Heracleidæ reigned 505 years, when the 8 wife of Candaules, being incensed at his exhibiting her 9 naked to Gyges, the founder of the Mermnadæ, persuaded 10 Gyges to murder her husband and take both herself and 11 the kingdom.* The story of Gyges is also told by Ar- 12 chilochus, the Parian, a contemporary, in a trimeter Iambic poem.

3rd, The Mermnadæ, 716—546. I. Gyges, 716, then 13 obtained the throne, and was confirmed in it by the Delphic oracle, which was consulted by his own adherents and the avengers of Candaules; but the Pythia added that vengeance should descend on his 5th generation (c. 91). Gyges sent golden bowls weighing 30 talents, [about 15 cwt = £93,600,]† with other treasures 14 to Delphi, and was the first Barbarian who sent offerings there, except Midas, king of Phrygia, who dedicated the royal throne on which he sat. Gyges attacked Miletus and Smyrna, and took the fort of Colophon. He reigned 38 years.

II. Ardys, 678, son of Gyges, succeeded. He took 15 Priene and invaded Miletus. In his reign the Cimmerians, driven from home by the Scythian nomads,‡ in-

* **Explanation of the early Lydian history.**—This traditional history may be thus unravelled by the assistance of the conjectures of Niebuhr. The two dynasties of Heracleidæ and Mermnadæ probably represent two empires in the country: the Heracleidæ, as a Pelasgian, and consequently a foreign dynasty, may have represented the Mæonians; whilst the Mermnadæ were real Lydians. The establishment of the Mermnadæ was probably at the time when the Mæonians were expelled by the Lydians. See commencement of chap. 7. The Heracleidæ are called descendants of Heracles through Minus and Belus; and this either indicates that they were actually descended from an Assyrian family, or it only means that the Heracleid dynasty of the Pelasgian people submitted to the supremacy of the king of Nineveh, and thus connected itself with the race of Minus and Belus.

† Calculating the value of gold in comparison with silver as 13 to 1. See iii. 95.

‡ **Progress of the Cimmerians.**—According to the account most credited by Herodotus, the Scythians were of Asiatic origin; the Cimmerians of European. The Scythians originally formed a part of the great Mongol race, who have wandered from unknown antiquity over the steppes of Central Asia, whilst the Cimmerians occupied the territory on the northern shores of the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Azof, and the Euxine, including Crimea, which was then called the

- 16 vaded Asia, and took all Sardis except the citadel. He reigned 49 years.

III. Sadyattes, 629, son of Ardys. He reigned 12 years.

IV. Alyattes, 617, succeeded. He made war upon Cyaxares and the Medes (c. 74); drove the Cimmerians from Asia; took Smyrna, a colony of Colophon; and invaded Clazomenæ, where he was defeated.

- 17 **Milesian War.**—He continued the war against Miletus, invading it every summer with pipes, harps, and flutes, masculine and feminine; he destroyed the crops, but left
18 the houses untouched. This war lasted 11 years: six in the reign of Sadyattes, who commenced it, and five in that of Alyattes. The Milesians suffered two great defeats, one at Limeneum, and one in the plain of Mæander: No Ionians assisted them but the Chians, whom they
19 had formerly succoured against the Erythræans. In the 12th year the crops were fired by the Lydians, when the flames caught the temple of Athene at Assesos, and burnt it to the ground. When Alyattes returned to Sardis, he sickened; and on sending to the Delphic oracle he was
20 refused an answer till the temple should be rebuilt. This information Herodotus derived from the Delphians: the Milesians add “that Periander, son of Cypselus, and tyrant of Corinth, informed Thrasybulus tyrant of Miletus
21 of this reply; and when Alyattes sent to Miletus to demand a truce that the temple might be rebuilt, Thrasybulus collected all the corn in the city into the market-place, and ordered the Milesians to commence feasting on receiving his signal. The Lydian herald, witnessing
22 the profusion, informed Alyattes, who thereupon allied with the Milesians; built two temples instead of one; and recovered his health.”
23 **Story of Arion.**—In the time of this Periander, (c. 20,)

Cimmerian Bosphorus. The Scythians being driven from their abodes by the Massagetæ, migrated to Europe and drove out the Cimmerians, who then made their way into Asia Minor, round the eastern shores of the Euxine. Here they ravaged the country, captured all Sardis except the Acropolis, and established themselves at Sinope. The country was at length delivered by Alyattes, and where the Cimmerians then went is unknown. See iv. 11, 12. The history of Scythia is given in Book iv.

Arion, the famous cithern-player and inventor of the dithyrambus, hired a Corinthian ship to take him from Tarentum to Corinth. When out at sea, the crew conspired to seize his money and throw him overboard. He however promised to make away with himself if allowed to sing once more; and accordingly having taken his cithara and played an Orthian strain, [*an air of sharp, stirring sound, like our military music,*] he threw himself from the poop in his full bard's attire, and was then, according to the Corinthians and Lesbians, carried by a dolphin to Tænarus, whence he proceeded to Corinth. Here his account was discredited by Periander, who kept him under a guard until the ship arrived, and then summoned the sailors. The latter at first declared that Arion was safe at Tarentum, but on seeing him could not deny their guilt. A small brazen statue at Tænarus represents Arion sitting on a dolphin.

Alyattes dedicated at Delphi a large silver bowl with iron stand, inlaid, made by Glaucus the Chian, who invented the inlaying of iron. Alyattes reigned 57 years.

V. Crœsus, last of the Mermnadæ, 560—546, son of Alyattes, succeeded in his 35th year. He reduced the Ephesians, who had dedicated their city to Artemis, by tying the wall to her temple with a rope seven stadia [nearly one mile] long; and subduing other Ionian and Æolian cities in Asia, he forced them all to pay tribute. He then designed building a fleet and attacking the islanders, but either Bias of Priene, or Pittacus of Mitylene, dissuaded him by saying that the islanders were about to attack him with cavalry, and upon his expressing a wish that they would do so, hinted that the islanders would be equally as glad on their part to meet him on the sea. Crœsus was pleased with the advice, stopped his ship-building, and allied with the islanders. He afterwards conquered all the nations within the Halys except the Cilicians and Lycians, and his dominions then included the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thynian and Bithynian Thracians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians.

Visit of Solon.—Sardis, now at its highest prosperity,

was visited by the wisest Greeks, and amongst others, by Solon, who, having framed a code of laws and bound the Athenians to observe them for 10 years, had exiled himself lest he should be called upon to abrogate them. After
 30 visiting Amasis, king of Egypt, Solon arrived at Sardis, and was entertained by Cræsus, and shown his treasures. Cræsus then asked who was the happiest man he had seen. Solon replied: "Tellus the Athenian; because he had lived in a well-governed commonwealth; had handsome, virtuous children who survived him; and died
 31 nobly in battle with the Eleusinians." Cræsus then asked who was the next happiest. Solon replied: "Cleobis and Biton, who died suddenly in answer to their mother's prayers to Hera, that, as a reward for their filial piety in drawing her chariot to the temple, the goddess would grant them whatever was best for man." Solon then summed up the term of human life, viz.

70 years of 12 months [360 days per year] 25,200 days.
 35 intercalary months, 1 every other year 1,050

[This gives 375 days per year.] 26,250

32 He then told Cræsus that he could not judge of the happiness of a life till he had seen how it ended, for every day produced new incidents; and he added, that he preferred a happy death after high duties well discharged, to a life brightened only by the smiles of fortune, and still
 33 subject to her frown. Cræsus then dismissed Solon as ignorant.

34 **Death of Atys.**—After this Cræsus was afflicted by the gods, probably for presuming to think himself so happy. He had two sons: one was deaf and dumb, but the other, Atys, was greatly distinguished. Cræsus dreamed that Atys would die by an iron spear, and therefore provided him a wife; took him from the command of the Lydian troops; and kept all weapons from his
 35 reach. Adrastus, a Phrygian fratricide, had fled to Sardis, and having been purified by Cræsus was received into
 36 his family. At this time a huge boar ravaged the Mysian Olympus, and the Mysians requested Cræsus to send
 37 Atys to drive it out. This Cræsus refused, but Atys,

hearing the message, begged to go, as the tusk of a boar 38
 was not the iron weapon which appeared in the dream. 40
 Croesus was then persuaded, and sent Adrastus with Atys 41
 under a promise to return him uninjured. During the 43
 chase the javelin of Adrastus missed the boar and killed
 Atys. Croesus was at first enraged, but afterwards for- 44
 gave the murderer, who, after requesting death from the 45
 hands of the father, slew himself on the tomb of the son.

Contemplated war with Cyrus: Croesus tests the oracles.—Croesus mourned for two years, but was at length 46
 aroused by learning the growing power of the Persians
 under Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who had deposed his
 grandfather, Astyages. Resolving to check it, he tested
 the oracles of Delphi, Abæ of Phocis, Dodona, Amphiar-
 aus, Trophonius, the Branchidæ in Milesia, and Am-
 mon in Libya, to see which would be the best to consult
 respecting a Persian war. His messengers were desired 47
 at exactly 100 days from their departure to ask of each
 oracle what Croesus was doing. No answer is recorded
 except that of the Delphic oracle, who thus replied in 48
 hexameters :

“I measure seas, and I the sands compute!
 I understand the dumb and hear the mute!
 I smell the savours of a boiling mass—
 A lamb and tortoise—which before me pass
 From out a brazen pan with lid and sides of brass.”

Croesus was at that very moment boiling a lamb and tor-
 toise together in a vessel of brass; and no answer but 49
 this pleased him, except that of Amphiaraus, which is
 unknown.

Gifts to Delphi and Amphiaraus.—Croesus then sacri- 50
 ficed to Apollo 3000 cattle of each kind fit for sacrifice;
 and erecting a large pile, burnt on it golden couches, fla-
 gons, and garments. He also ordered the Lydians to
 offer all they could, and gave 117 golden half-tiles; a 51
 golden lion, afterwards in the Corinthian treasury; one
 golden and one silver bowl, the last said to be the work
 of Theodorus the Samian, and used by the Delphians on
 the Theophanian festival; four silver casks; one silver
 and one golden lustral vase, the last of which the Lace-
 dæmonians say they gave, but their gift was a boy through

whose hand the water flows. Croesus also sent smaller gifts, including some silver ewers, a golden statue of a woman, and his wife's necklace and girdles. To Amphiarus Croesus dedicated a golden shield and spear, which Herodotus saw in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes.

53 **Consults the oracle on a war with Persia.**—The messengers with the presents asked according to their instructions whether Croesus should attack the Persians, and whether he should take any allies : both oracles replied—"that if he warred with the Persians he would overthrow a mighty empire ;" and both advised him to ally with the most powerful of the Greeks. Croesus was delighted with these replies, and gave to each Delphian two staters of gold [about £1 12s. 6d.]. In return the Delphians gave to him and the Lydians, 1st, Priority in consulting the oracle. 2nd, Exemption from charges. 3rd, The chief seat at festivals. 4th, The privilege of being made Delphic citizens at any time.

55 **Consults on the duration of his own Monarchy.**—Croesus sent to Delphi a third time, to ask if his monarchy would be lasting. The answer was :

"When thou shalt see a mule reign o'er the Mede,
Then over Hermus, tender Lydian, speed ;
Nor of a coward's name take thought or heed."

56 Croesus also liked this reply, thinking that a mule could never be king.

Contemplates a Greek Alliance.—Croesus then inquired which were the most powerful of the Greek states, and was told, the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. (*Continued at c. 69.*)

III. (*Digress.*) *Origin and contemporaneous condition of Athens and Lacedæmon, chap. 56—68.*

Origin and distinction of the Lacedæmonians (Hellenes) and the Athenians (Pelasgi).—The Lacedæmonians were the chief of the Dorians, and descended from the Hellenes ; the Athenians, of the Ionians, and descended from the Pe-

European
Greece.

lasgi.* The Hellenes have migrated, but the Pelasgi never. Under Deucalion, the Hellenes inhabited Phthiotis; and under Dorus, son of Hellen, the region at the foot of Ossa and Olympus, called Histizeotis. Being driven from thence by the Cadmeans, they settled at Pindus, and were called Macednians; but they again removed to Dryopis, and thence to Peloponnesus, where they were called Dorians.

Language of the Pelasgi and Hellenes.—The lan- 57
guage of the Pelasgi is uncertain; but judging from those of the race who still exist in Crestona near the Thermaic gulf, and from those in Placia and Scylace on the Propontis, it must have been "barbarous," that is, distinct from the Hellenic, and if so, the Athenians must have changed theirs when they became Hellenes. Moreover the Crestonians and Placians speak the same language as one another, but a different one from their neighbours, which shows that they have taken care to preserve its character. The Hellenes have always 58
used the same language, and by a union with other tribes have increased to a multitude of nations. The Pelasgi, remaining unamalgamated, have increased very little.

* **The Pelasgi and Hellenes.**—The Pelasgi were the earliest inhabitants of Greece. They first appeared in the Peloponnesus under Inachus about B. C. 1800, and gradually extended to the north, particularly over Attica and in Thessaly. From uncultivated savages they appear to have become gradually civilized, and the Cyclopiæan monuments are attributed to them. They seem to have remained about B. C. 1700—1500, and from them the country was called Pelasgia. The Hellenes made their appearance about B. C. 1550, and having migrated into Thessaly and driven out the Pelasgi there, they subsequently spread over the whole of Greece, and drove out the Pelasgi from almost every part. They were divided into four principal tribes, the Æolians, Ionians, Dorians, and Achæans, and from them the country was called Hellas, a name which subsequently included every place and colony inhabited by Hellenes. In the time of Herodotus all Greeks may be regarded as Hellenes. No traces of the Pelasgi existed except a few insulated populations in Crestona, Placia, Scylace, Arcadia (i. 146), Lemnos and Imbros (v. 26), Antandros (vii. 42), Acte, (Thucyd. iv. 109),—and Pelasgian names and rituals in many widely scattered places. In the old Pelasgian times however the Athenians themselves were Pelasgi, and called Cranai (viii. 44), and they still prided themselves on their supposed descent from the old aborigines of the country, and Herodotus frequently alludes to it.

59

CENTRAL
GREECE.
—
Athens.

Birth of Pisistratus.—Cræsus learnt that the Athenians were oppressed by Pisistratus. Once after this man's father, Hippocrates, had sacrificed a victim at the Olympic games, the cauldrons full of flesh and water boiled over without any fire. Chilon, a Lacedæmonian present, advised him to take no wife, or if married, to repudiate her, and if he had a son, to disclaim him. Hippocrates neglected this advice, and Pisistratus was born.

His Tyranny, 561—528.—In the contest between the people of the sea-coast headed by Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, and the people of Athens headed by Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, Pisistratus aimed at tyranny and formed a third party.* Having ridden into the country under colour of heading the Highlanders, he returned into the public square and pretended to have been wounded by assassins. He thus prevailed on the people to grant him a body-guard armed with clubs, having previously obtained their favour by the capture of Nisæa and other illustrious deeds. With this force he seized the Acropolis, and assumed the government without altering the laws.

60 **First Exile and Restoration.**—The factions of Megacles and Lycurgus becoming united, drove Pisistratus from the city, but quarrelling afterwards, Megacles offered him his daughter and his assistance in regaining

* **Origin of the Three Factions.**—The ancient geographical division of Attica had from time immemorial determined the pursuits and character of its inhabitants, and at a later period divided them into the three parties of the Plain, the Coast, and the Highlands, who now revived their ancient feuds.

1st, The Pedisei,—Lowland nobles inhabiting the plain, and now headed by LYCURGUS. They had become wealthy from the fertility of the soil, but had oppressed their peasantry. They formed the *Aristocracy*.

2nd, The Parali,—people of the sea-coast, who were chiefly engaged in commerce, mechanical arts, or the working of mines. They were now headed by MEGACLES. They dreaded violent measures, and were for a *Mixed government*.

3rd, The Diacrii,—Highlanders now headed by PISISTRATUS. They were generally poor, and wishing for a revolution to bring them more on an equality with the rich, they made the cause of the distressed lowland peasantry their own. They formed the *Democracy*.

the tyranny. This was accepted by Pisistratus, and the following most absurd scheme was practised to insure his return, for the Greeks have of old been esteemed wiser than the Barbarians, and the Athenians as the wisest of the Greeks. There was a handsome woman of Pæania, [a deme or township of Attica,] named Phya, who was four cubits high all but three digits [or nearly six feet]. She was now dressed in armour to represent Athene, [the national deity of Attica,] and conducted into Athens in a chariot, whilst a herald proclaimed that the goddess was bringing back Pisistratus. The people then received the tyrant and worshipped the supposed divinity.

Second Exile and Restoration.—Pisistratus neglected 61 his bride, because the Alcæonidæ were accursed, (v. 71,) which so exasperated her father that he joined the opposite faction. Hearing of this, Pisistratus withdrew to Eretria, and consulted his sons. By the advice of Hippias he tried to recover the sovereignty, and collecting gifts from friendly cities, especially from the Thebans, he hired some Argive mercenaries. Being then reinforced by Lygdamis, a Naxian, who volunteered money and men, Pisistratus and his sons returned to Attica in 62 the 11th year of their exile, and taking Marathon, were joined by multitudes. This the Athenians disregarded, but marched against them on hearing that Pisistratus was advancing on the city. Meantime the latter left Marathon and encamped before the temple of Athene at Pallene, [a deme of Attica,] when Amphilytus, an Acarnanian prophet, pronounced this oracle in hexameters:

“The cast is thrown—the net expanded wide—
At night the tunnies in the snare will glide.”

63

Pisistratus accepted the oracle, and attacked and routed the Athenians whilst they were amusing themselves after dinner, and then prevented their rallying by sending on his sons to reassure the fugitives and bid them retire to their homes.

Secures the Government.—Pisistratus thus gained 64 Athens a third time. He now secured it: 1st, By auxiliary troops. 2nd, By revenues from the country itself and the Strymon mines. 3rd, By banishing his enemies'

sons to Naxos, which he had already subdued and given to Lygdamis. He also purified Delos in obedience to an oracle, by removing all dead bodies from within sight of the temple. [Thucyd. iii. 104.]

65

PELOPON-
NESUS.

Lacedæmon.

Lacedæmon improved by Lycurgus, 884.

—Cæsus was also now informed that the Lacedæmonians had at length conquered the Tegeans, by whom, during the reigns of Leon and Hegesicles, they had been invariably defeated. These Lacedæmonians had been an ill-governed and rude nation till improved by the code of Lycurgus, who was much respected by the Spartans, because the Pythia had once addressed him as follows :

“Lycurgus, thou art come to my rich fane,
Beloved by Zeus and all the heavenly train,
But whether god or man I fear to say,
Yet god thou must be more than mortal clay.”

Lycurgus had either received his code from the Pythia, or brought it from Crete when appointed guardian to his nephew Leobotas, [Charilaus,] king of Sparta. He established the Enomotia, the Triecades, and the Sysitia, and instituted the Ephori and Gerusia.*

* **The Enomotia**—was a body of generally 24 soldiers, with a captain : four Enomotia formed a Lochus, which thus ordinarily consisted of 100 men.

The Triecade—was a civil body, which either consisted of 30 families, or one-tenth of an Oba, or of 10 families, or one-thirtieth of an Oba.

The Sysitia—was the daily meal which all the citizens in their respective divisions took in common.

The Ephori—were five officers, or overseers, yearly elected from and by the people, without any qualification of age and property. They possessed both a judicial and a censorial authority, and could depose magistrates, and even bring kings before their tribunal. They also transacted business with foreign ambassadors, dismissed them from the state, decided upon the government of dependent cities, subscribed in the presence of other persons to treaties of peace, and in time of war sent out troops when they thought necessary. In all these capacities they acted as the representatives of the nation, and the agents of the public assembly, and were, in fact, the executive of the state.

The Gerusia—or council of elders, was the aristocratic element of the Spartan polity, and consisted of the two kings, its presidents, and 28 members, who were not eligible before their sixtieth year.

War with Tegea: Lacedæmonians defeated.—After 66
this the Spartans consulted the oracle on the conquest of
Arcadia, who thus replied:

“Ask ye Arcadia? ’tis too much! I doubt
Her acorn-eating sons can keep you out.
But you may dance throughout Tegea’s plain,
And stretch upon her fields your twisted chain.”

This was fulfilled: for the Spartans being defeated, were
loaded with fetters which themselves had brought, and
forced to measure and till the soil of Tegea. These fet-
ters Herodotus himself subsequently saw in the temple
of Athene Alea at Tegea.

Become victorious through the bones of Orestes.—In 67
the days of Cræsus, and during the reigns of Anaxan-
drides and Ariston in Lacedæmon, the Spartans inquired
of the Delphian oracle, which of the gods they ought to
propitiate, in order to obtain victory, and they were
ordered to find and carry home the bones of Orestes,
the son of Agamemnon. These the Spartans could not
find, and applied again to the oracle, who thus an-
swered them:

“Down in Arcadia’s level plain, I know,
Tegea lies:—and where woe lies on woe—
Where two bound winds, impatient of the yoke,
Are forced to blow—where stroke replies to stroke:
Beneath the earth lies Agamemnon’s son,
Bear him to Sparta and Tegea’s won.”

The meaning of these words was at length discovered by
Lichas, one of the Agathoergi [chiefs of the 300 chosen
Spartan youths, who acted as the moveable police of the
country under the Ephori]. Lichas visited Tegea and 68
entered the forge of a blacksmith, who told him that,
whilst sinking a well in his outer court, he had discovered
a coffin seven cubits [$10\frac{1}{2}$ feet] long. Lichas then con-
jectured that this contained the bones, for there were the
two constrained blasts in the bellows of the blacksmith,
“the stroke and counter-stroke” in his hammer and
forge, and “woe upon woe” in the weapons he was
forging. Lichas then returned to Sparta, communi-
cated his discovery, obtained a feigned banishment,
and went back to Tegea. Here he prevailed on the

blacksmith to let him have the premises, and then dug up the bones and carried them to Sparta, and from that time the Spartans became superior to the Tegeans, having already subdued most of the Peloponnesus.

IV. *Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus, chap. 69—94.*

- 69 **Croesus: allies with the Lacedæmonians.**
Western Asia Minor. —Croesus, having learnt all these things, sent ambassadors to Sparta bearing presents and requesting an alliance. The Lacedæmonians, 1st, Had heard the replies of the oracle to Croesus (c. 53). 2nd, They gratefully remembered his having presented them with a quantity of gold when they had sent to Sardis to
 70 *purchase* some for a statue of Apollo. 3rd, They were gratified at the preference shown them. They therefore accepted the alliance, and promised to attend when summoned. They also sent Croesus a vast brazen bowl, capable of holding 300 amphoræ [about 2550 gallons], which he never received, for, according to the Lacedæmonians, it was stolen by the Samians on its way to Sardis, whilst the Samians declare that the persons carrying it, having learnt that Sardis was taken, sold it in Samos.
- 71 **Prepares to invade Cappadocia.**—Croesus, mistaking the oracle, invaded Cappadocia [or Leuco-Syria, east of the river Halys and of the Lydian empire, and at that time subject to the Persians]; though Sandanis the Lydian told him that the Persians had nothing worth plundering, whilst he had several luxuries to lose; and indeed before the subjugation of Lydia the Persians possessed nothing delicate or good. The Cappadocians
 72 were called Syrians by the Greeks, and before the establishment of the Persian empire under Cyrus, had been subject to the Medes.

The Halys was the boundary between the Persian and Lydian empires. It rises in the mountains of Armenia; flows through Cilicia; then between the Matienians on its right and the Phrygians on its left; and afterwards it runs northward, with the Syrian Cappadocians on the right and the Paphlagonians on the left. The Halys thus divides all Lower Asia, [Asia Minor,] from the sea

opposite Cyprus [Mediterranean] to the Euxine ; running across the isthmus, which is about five days' journey for a well-girt man [one day (= 200 stadia) \times 5 = 1000 stadia, or 125 miles].

Reasons for the invasion.—Crœsus invaded Cappadocia for three reasons. 1st, His desire for territory. 2nd, His faith in the oracle. 3rd, His wish to punish Cyrus on account of Astyages, who was his brother-in-law.

His relationship to Astyages.—This relationship had thus arisen. A band of Scythian nomads * had fled into Media, and been protected by Cyaxares, (c. 103,) who committed some Median boys to their care to learn their language and archery. One day the Scythians returned from hunting without any game ; and being reproved by Cyaxares, they murdered one of the youths and served the flesh to him in a dish. They then fled to Alyattes at Sardis.

Previous war between Cyaxares and Alyattes, 590—585.—Alyattes refused to give up the Scythians, upon which the Medes made war on the Lydians, which lasted with various success for five years. In the 6th year an eclipse in the midst of a battle, [May 28th, 585,] which

* **Earliest accounts of the Scythians.**—The Scythians appear to have been anciently a Mongolian race, and according to Herodotus were driven from the steppes of Central Asia at the foot of the Altai mountains by the Massagetæ, and entering Europe, expelled in their turn the Cimmerians from the great level between the Danube and the Don north of the Euxine (c. 15, *note*). A large army of these Scythians under their king Madyes then pursued the Cimmerians into Asia ; but whilst the latter entered Asia Minor, by the shore of the Euxine and through the Colchian gates, or passes at the western extremity of the Caucasian range, the Scythians missed their way, and after proceeding eastward on the north side of Caucasus, they came through the defiles of Derbend at the eastern extremity between Caucasus and the Caspian, and thus entered Media (c. 103, 104). Here they became masters for 28 years, but at length were expelled by Cyaxares, king of the Medes. Some of them, as appears from c. 73, were retained at court, but at length fled to Alyattes, king of Lydia, and the war which subsequently arose between the Medes and Lydians led to the marriage between Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes, and Astyages, son of Cyaxares (c. 74). Crœsus, as brother of Aryenis, thus desired to avenge his brother-in-law Astyages, who had been dethroned by Cyrus (c. 130).

had been foretold by Thales the Milesian, induced both parties to desire peace. Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and Labynetus, king of Babylon, mediated, and induced Alyattes to give his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages, son of Cyaxares. The treaty was then cemented by the rival parties licking the blood from each other's arms.

- 75 **Crosses the Halys.**—When Croesus reached the Halys, he crossed, as Herodotus believes, by the bridges still there ; but the Greeks say that Thales the Milesian made the stream fordable by carrying off the waters through a semicircular canal behind the camp.



- 76 **Battle of Pteria, 546.**—Croesus then took Pteria, the strongest position in Cappadocia, situated nearly opposite Sinope, a city on the Euxine. He then enslaved the Pterians, ravaged the country, and expelled the neighbouring Syrians. Meantime Cyrus advanced with his army, enlisting fresh troops from the nations on his way, but first sent heralds to tempt the Ionians to revolt from Croesus. The Ionians however refused, and Cyrus and Croesus at length met near Pteria, where, after an obstinate and bloody battle, they separated at night, without either being able to claim the victory.
- 77 **Returns to Sardis, 546.**—Croesus, ascribing his ill success to his inferior numbers, retired to Sardis to summon his allies, viz. *Amasis*, king of Egypt, *Labynetus*, king of Babylon, and the *Lacedæmonians*. With the assistance of these three he purposed making another attack on the Persians in the spring, and accordingly requested them to meet at Sardis in five months ; he then disbanded his present army, which consisted of foreign mercenaries.
- 78 **Prodigy of Serpents.**—Shortly after, Croesus was alarmed by seeing the suburbs of Sardis, filled with ser-

pents, who were eaten by horses. He sent to the sooth-sayers of Telmessus for an explanation of the prodigy, but their answer did not arrive until the omen was fulfilled. The answer was, that Croesus must beware of a foreign enemy within his territory, who would subjugate the natives; for the serpent is the son of the earth, whilst the horse is a foe and an intruder.

Cyrus marches against Sardis.—Cyrus, learning that Croesus had disbanded his troops, marched to Sardis. Croesus, although perplexed, led out the Lydians, who were in those days the most warlike nation in Asia. They carried long javelins, fought on horseback, and were admirable riders. The rival armies met on the bare but extensive plain before Sardis, which is watered by several rivers, including the Hyllus, all flowing into the largest, called the Hermus, which rises in the sacred mountain of Mother Dindymene, and falls into the sea near Phocæa. Cyrus was alarmed at the Lydian cavalry, but by acting on the advice of Harpagus the Mede, he obtained the victory. Having unloaded his baggage camels he mounted them with cavalry troops, and placed them in the van of his army, with his infantry behind, and all his cavalry in the rear of his infantry. The Lydian horses were startled at the figure and smell of the camels, and reared back. Their riders then leaped off, and engaged the Persians on foot, but were at length forced to retreat within their walls. Cyrus ordered the Lydians to be killed, but Croesus to be taken alive. He then besieged Sardis, and Croesus sent for his allies, particularly the Lacedæmonians, to come up immediately.

Lacedæmonians at war concerning Thyrea.—The Lacedæmonians were then quarreling with the Argives. The former had seized Thyrea,* which belonged to Argos, and it was agreed to settle the dispute by a fight between 300 of each nation.

* **Cynuria**, which contained Thyrea, was a border territory between Lacedæmon and Argos. It fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, first under the reign of Echestratus, the 2nd monarch of the line of Eurysthenes (vii. 204). It was demanded back by the Argives in the time of Leobotas, the next king of the same line, (i. 65,) and occasioned a war, which was now successfully terminated by the Lacedæmonians. See also Thucyd. v. 41.

Only three survived the battle; Alcenor and Chromius of the Argives, and Othryades the Lacedæmonian. The two Argives returned to Argos as conquerors; but Othryades stripped the dead Argives and remained at his post. Next day both parties claimed the victory, and coming to blows, the Spartans conquered. The Argives, who till then wore long hair, enacted that no man should let his hair grow, or any woman wear gold ornaments, until Thyrea should be retaken. The Spartans themselves then wore long hair. Othryades, the sole Spartan survivor,

- 83 ashamed to return home, slew himself at Thyrea. Sparta, notwithstanding, prepared to succour Cræsus, but desisted before sailing upon hearing that Sardis had fallen.

- 84 **Sardis taken, 546.**—On the 14th day of the siege of Sardis, Cyrus proclaimed a reward to the first man who mounted the wall.

Western Asia
Minor.

Upon this Hyrcæades, a Mardian,* chose a steep part where no sentinels were placed, from having observed a Lydian descend it in pursuit of a helmet. Round this point alone Meles, a former king of Sardis, omitted to carry the lion which his concubine bore him, and which the Telmessians had declared would render the walls impregnable. Hyrcæades was followed by others, and Sardis was taken and plundered.

- 85 **Cræsus saved by his dumb son.**—Cræsus was saved by his dumb son, who seeing a Persian about to slay his father exclaimed, "Soldier, kill not Cræsus," and from that time retained the power of speech. Cræsus in the days of his prosperity had tried every means for the relief of this son, and even consulted the oracle of Delphi, who thus replied :

"O foolish king of Lydia, do not seek
To hear thy son within thy palace speak!
Better for thee that pleasure to forego—
The day he speaks will be a day of woe."

- 86 **Placed on a pile, but released on mentioning Solon :**—Cræsus was thus taken in the 14th year of his reign and 14th day of the siege, and brought before Cyrus, who

* The Mardians were a nomad tribe on the borders of Persia, who followed the army of Cyrus as the Baskirs and Calmucks follow the Russian armies (c. 225). *Heeren*.

had him placed upon a pile with 14 Lydian youths. There Cræsus thrice pronounced the name of Solon, which Cyrus hearing, ordered the interpreters to ask whom he was calling. Cræsus related the conversation of Solon, but the pile was kindled. When, however, his words were reported to Cyrus, the latter relented, and Cræsus was saved with great difficulty from the flames. Apollo is said to have saved Cræsus by sending rain in 87 answer to his prayers.

Subsequently esteemed by Cyrus.—Cyrus knowing by this event that Cræsus was a good man, now asked him why he had commenced the war. Cræsus replied, that he had been misled by Apollo. He afterwards received 88 great respect from Cyrus, and said to him, "The Persians are plundering your property, and not mine." He then represented that the booty would induce the Persians to revolt, and advised Cyrus to set guards at the city gates to recover the spoil, under pretence of dedicating a tenth to Zeus. Cyrus liked the advice and followed it, and then begged Cræsus to ask a boon, who 90 thereupon requested permission to send his fetters to Delphi as the first-fruits of the war, in order to reproach the oracle. This was done, but the Pythia stated that 91 the fall of Cræsus, the fifth descendant from Gyges, (c. 13,) was fixed by fate, but that Apollo had delayed it for three years, and saved him from being burnt. It was also shown how Cræsus had mistaken the oracles (c. 53, 55); for, first, it was his own empire that was to be subverted; and second, Cyrus was a mule, being born of parents of different nations,—of the daughter of Astyages the Mede, and Cambyses the Persian (c. 107).

His offerings in Greece.—Cræsus consecrated other 92 offerings in Greece, viz. a golden tripod at Thebes, golden oxen and pillars at Ephesus, and a golden shield at Delphi. Other gifts which he sent to Branchidæ in Milesia were equal and similar to those at Delphi. Those which he gave to Delphi and Amphiaraus were his own property, but the others were from the spoils of an enemy, who, before the accession of Cræsus, who was the son of Alyattes by a Carian woman, had endeavoured to raise Pantaleon, son of Alyattes by an Ionian woman, to the

Lydian throne, and this enemy Cræsus had subsequently torn with an instrument set with nails and spikes.

- 93 **Lydia, its country and manners.**—Lydia presents few wonders beyond the gold dust from Mount Tmolus ; but it exhibits one work which only ranks next to those of Egypt and Babylon, viz. the tomb of Alyattes, a tumulus of earth based on large stones, six stadia and two plethra [$\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile] in circumference, and 13 plethra [$\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile] broad, built by tradesmen, mechanics, and prostitutes, but chiefly by the last.* Beside it is the Gygean lake, said to be fed by perpetual springs. The Lydian customs differ little from the Grecian, except that the Lydian girls are all prostitutes, and when they have raised a sufficient dowry are permitted to choose their own husbands. The Lydians invented gold and silver coins, and were the first retail dealers. They say they invented all the Greek games, excepting draughts, to pacify their hunger during an 18 years' famine, in the reign of Atys, son of Manes (c. 7) ; which was stopped by half the people sailing from Smyrna under Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, and settling in Umbria under the name of Tyrrhenians. (*Continued at c. 141.*)

V. (*Digress.*) *History of the Medes to the reign of Cyrus, chap. 95—140.*

- 95 **Central Asia.** **Herodotus follows the most truthful Persian authorities.**—Herodotus proceeds to show who Cyrus was, and how the Persians conquered Asia ; in which he will follow the authority of some Persian writers, who show an anxiety not so much to embellish the adventures of Cyrus as to speak the truth. He knows however three other ways of presenting the life of Cyrus.†
- 95 **Assyrian empire, 1231—711. Revolt of the Medes, 711.**—The Assyrians ruled Upper Asia 520 years, when the Medes revolted and became independent, and other dependent nations followed their example ; but

* Mr. Harris, the British consul, assured Niebuhr that there still existed a mound like the Mexican pyramids, which he was convinced was identical with the above.

† The accounts given of Cyrus by Ctesias, Xenophon, and Æschylus all differ from that of Herodotus.

they subsequently again fell under a despotic government in the following manner.*

* **History of Assyria as derived from the Old Testament, etc.**—The name of Assyrians, as they were called by the Barbarians, or Syrians, as they were styled by the Greeks, comprised the nations extending from the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris, to the Euxine, the Halys, and Palestine. Nimrod, the son of Cush, and grandson of Ham, founded the kingdom of Babel or Babylon in the land of Shinar on the banks of the Euphrates (Gen. x. 10, 11); and then, according to the marginal version of the passage, went out into Assyria, and built Nineveh and other cities on the banks of the Tigris and to the north-east of Babylon. From henceforth the names of Nineveh on the Tigris, and Babylon on the Euphrates, peer through a cloud of legend. Nimrod may be identified with Bel, Belus, or Baal, who, according to Herodotus, was the father of Ninus, and the grandson of Heracles. (Comp. note to i. 12.) At an ancient period we find the nations on the Euphrates and Tigris erected into a vast empire, which probably included all the Asiatic countries between Mount Taurus and the deserts of Arabia, and stretching to an unknown extent into the far east. According to the chronology of Herodotus, we find that this great Assyrian empire lasted 520 years, viz. b. c. 1231—711. Its later monarchs, according to the Old Testament, were, 1. **Pul**, cir. 771, who invaded Israël. 2. **Tiglath-pileser**, cir. 750, who carried off the people of Damascus and the Israelites east of the Jordan. 3. **Shalmaneser**, 730, who took the Ten Tribes into captivity. 4. **Sennacherib**, 715, who marched against Hezekiah, and whose army was destroyed by an angel. (Comp. ii. 141.) This loss, which was followed by the assassination of Sennacherib, seems to have enabled the Medes who formed the eastern portion of the empire to assert their independence. The kings of Media quickly subdued the Persians, and other neighbouring nations, and then maintained a constant war with Assyria, until they had raised an extensive empire on the ruins of Nineveh. (Herod. i. 96—106.) Meantime Sennacherib had been succeeded on the Assyrian throne by Esarhaddon, Saosduchinus, and Chyniladanus. Babylon, which appears to have seized the same opportunity as the Medes for revolting from the Assyrian rule, was won back by Esarhaddon; but the latter was foiled in all his attempts to subdue the revolted Medes, who were soon to become so formidable a power.† His successors were degenerate and luxurious. In the reign of Chyniladanus Babylon was seized by the Chaldees, who then allied with the Medes; and the two powers united their forces and took Nineveh, and thus for ever overthrew the Assyrian empire (i. 106). *For the rise and progress of the Babylonian empire, called also Assyrian by Herodotus, see note to i. 184.*

† This successful issue of the Median struggle appears to have generated the confused tale, that the Assyrian empire was destroyed by the Medes while *Sardanapalus* was king; for it can scarcely be doubted that Sardanapalus is a compound word, and that its element, Sardan, is identical with Esarhaddon, who is called *Asordan* in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius. *P. W. Newman.*

- 96 **Media.** **Deioces chosen king, 700.** — Deioces, [Arphaxad Judith, i. 1,] a Mede and son of Phraortes, aimed at absolute power, and first, from his love of justice, was chosen judge in his district.
- 97 Here he attracted great admiration by his decisions, as he had previously done by his wisdom, and the inhabitants of neighbouring districts submitted their disputes to him. At length he refused to decide any more cases, and lawlessness increased; and his friends proposed a
- 98 king, and Deioces was chosen. The Medes then permitted him to choose a body-guard, and built him a palace called Ecbatana, with seven concentric walls of differently coloured battlements,—1. white, 2. black, 3. purple,
- 99 4 blue, 5. bright red, 6. silver, 7. gold.* He then commanded the people to build their own houses round this fortification, and established a rigid system of etiquette to repress all familiarity. He was severe in
- 100 distributing justice, all cases being sent to him in writing; and he settled all the other details of government himself, keeping spies and eaves-droppers in every part
- 101 of his dominions. He collected the Median tribes into one nation, viz. the Busæ, Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi, and died after reigning 53 years.
- 102 **Phraortes, 647, subdues the Persians.**—Phraortes, son of Deioces, succeeded. He subdued the Persians and all Upper Asia, and at length attached the Assyrians of Nineveh, who, though abandoned by their allies, maintained prosperity at home. He perished in this expedition with most of his army, after a reign of 22 years.
- 103 **Cyaxares, 625, organizes the Median army.**—Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, succeeded. He was more warlike than his ancestors, and was the first that divided the Asiatics into cohorts, and separated the spearmen, archers, and cavalry. He fought with the Lydians when the eclipse of the sun occurred, (c. 74,) and subjected all Asia above [eastward of] the Halys. He marched to Nineveh with all his forces to avenge the death of his father, and defeated the Assyrians.

* Major Rawlinson remarks that the seven colours described by Herodotus are those employed by the Orientals to denote the seven planetary bodies. See Mr. Blakesley's note on the passage.

Scythian invasion, 624,—defeat of the Medes.—

Whilst besieging Nineveh, he was attacked by a large army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes, who had entered Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians from Europe. The Scythians had not come by the shortest way, viz. 104 from the lake Mæotis to the river Phasis and to Colchis, which is only 30 days' journey, and then from Colchis to Media through the Saspire, which is but a short additional distance; but they had taken a longer route higher up on the right of Mount Caucasus, where they defeated the Medes and became masters of all Asia (see c. 73, *note*). From thence they advanced towards Egypt, 105 but Psammetichus met them in Palestine and persuaded them to return. In their retreat some of them pillaged the temple of the heavenly Aphrodite, [i. e. Astarte,] at Ascalon, which was more ancient than all her other temples, being prior to the one in Cyprus, as well as to the one in Cythera, erected by the Phœnicians. For this act the sacrilegists and their posterity were smitten with effeminacy. The Scythians call them Enarees.*

Scythians massacred, 596.—The Scythians tyrannized 106 over Asia for 28 years, plundering at pleasure instead of exacting tribute; but after this period most of them were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes to a banquet, made drunk, and massacred. Cyaxares then took Nineveh,† subdued all Assyria, except Babylon, and died after reigning 40 years.

Astyages, 585. Birth of Cyrus, 571.—Astyages, son 107 of Cyaxares, succeeded. He dreamt that the water of his daughter, Mandane, inundated Asia, which so alarmed him that he would not marry her to a Mede, but to Cambyses, a Persian of good family and peaceful disposition, but deemed to belong to an inferior race. In the 1st 108

* The Enarees were subject to a singular disease, in which the men lost masculine spirit, supposed themselves to be incapable of manly exercises, and would do nothing but women's work.

† Nineveh, or *Nimroud*, as has been proved by the recent researches of Mr. Layard, was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and near its junction with the Zab, about 20 miles south-east of the modern town of Mosul. Herodotus states that he will describe the siege of Nineveh in a different history—probably the history of Assyria (i. 184), which has been lost.

year of the marriage Astyages dreamed that a vine sprang from Mandane and spread over Asia, and this was declared by the Magi to signify that her child should supplant him on the throne. He therefore ordered Mandane to be watched, and gave the child to Harpagus, a kinsman, to destroy it. Harpagus, unwilling to kill it, gave it to Mitrdates, a herdsman of Astyages, living on mountains north of Ecbatana towards the Euxine, and desired him to expose it on pain of death. Mitrdates carried it to his wife, Cyno, and at her request exposed a dead child of their own, and saved the living infant. Mitrdates then showed the dead child to some trusty guards whom Harpagus sent for the purpose; and he brought up the living boy, who was afterwards called Cyrus, but then bore some other name.

114 **Chosen king in sport, 561.**—When Cyrus was 10 years old he was made king by his play-fellows, and scourged a son of Artembares, a nobleman, for disobeying his orders; whereupon the father complained to Astyages, who summoned Cyrus and Mitrdates, and recognising the features of Cyrus, he obliged Mitrdates to confess. Astyages then sent for Harpagus, who admitted the truth, that Mitrdates had deceived him. Astyages then requested him to send his own son to the palace to keep company with Cyrus, but murdered the youth on his arrival, and then inviting Harpagus to supper, served up the limbs. After the meal he ordered the head, hands, and feet to be brought, and thus discovered to Harpagus that he had eaten the flesh of his own son, but the agonized father dissembled his rage, and returned home. The Magi now assured Astyages that nothing more was to be feared, as Cyrus had already fulfilled the dream by being made king in sport, but they advised the monarch to send him to his parents. Astyages then spoke kindly to the boy, and sent him to Cambyses and Mandane, in Persia, who tenderly received him, and hearing him speak of his foster-mother Cyno, [bitch,] spread the report that he had been nourished by one.

123 **Persians under Cyrus revolt against Astyages.**—When Cyrus had arrived at man's estate, Harpagus, who wished to be revenged on Astyages,

had persuaded the chief Medes to depose him, and make Cyrus king. He then sent Cyrus a letter in the belly of 124 a hare, urging him to persuade the Persians to revolt, and stating that whoever led the Medic force against him would desert to his army. Cyrus then called the Per- 125 sians together, and told them he was appointed their general, and required each man to attend him with a sickle.

Ten Persian tribes.—The Persians were divided into ten tribes. Three of these are noble, viz. the Pasargadæ, the Maraphians, and the Maspians; the Pasargadæ are the most noble, and embrace the family of the Achæmenidæ, from whom the Persian kings are descended. The other tribes are dependent upon the above three. Three of them are agricultural, viz. the Panthialeans, the Derusians, and the Germanians. Four are pastoral; the Daians, Mardians, Dropicians, and Sagartians.

Defeat of Astyages.—When the Persians had assembled, 126 Cyrus commanded them the first day to clear 18 or 20 stadia [about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles] of rough ground; the next day he gave them a feast. He then said that if they would follow him they should always enjoy the advantages of to-day; if otherwise, they must endure the hardships of yesterday, adding, that they were not inferior to the Medes, and calling upon them to revolt. The 127 Persians gladly followed Cyrus, who, upon being summoned by Astyages, replied, that he would come before he was wanted. Astyages raised an army, and foolishly made Harpagus general, and accordingly many of the Medes deserted, and the remainder either fled or were routed. Astyages then impaled the Magi, and armed 128 the rest of the Medes, young and old, but was defeated by the Persians and taken prisoner. Harpagus insulted 129 Astyages, who retorted that he was a fool for giving the kingdom to another, when he might have had it himself; and a knave for enslaving the Medes to the Persians on account of a supper (c. 118). In the reign of Darius [Nothus, B. C. 408] the Medes again revolted, but were a second time subjugated.

End of the Medic dynasty—Cyrus king, B. C. 550— 130
530.—Astyages was thus deposed after reigning 35 years,

and the Medes, who had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for 128 years, were subdued by the Persians. [A mistake by a copyist, as a calculation of the several reigns will make 150 years.] Cyrus kept Astyages till he died.

- 131 **Persian manners and customs: character of their religion.**—The Persians build no statues, temples, or altars.* They offer sacrifice on the tops of mountains to Zeus, by which name they call the heavens. They also sacrifice to the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds, and have since learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to sacrifice to the heavenly Aphrodite, whom the Assyrians call Mylitta, the Arabians, Alitta, and the Persians, Mitra.
- 132 They use no altars, fires, libations, flutes, filets, nor cakes, but lead the victim to a clean spot, offer prayers for all the Persians, cut the victim into small pieces, boil the flesh, and strew it over grass; then one of the Magi sings an incantation, and the sacrificer carries away the flesh for his own use.
- 133 **Social laws.**—They honour their birth-day; eat little, but are fond of sweetmeats; drink much wine; and deliberate when drunk, and again when sober. When
- 134 they meet, if equals, they kiss on the mouth; if one be rather inferior, they kiss the cheek; if much inferior, he prostrates before the other. They honour the nations nearest to them the most, and those farthest off the least, esteeming themselves the most excellent. They are most
- 135 inclined to adopt foreign customs, wearing the Medic costume, and in war using the Egyptian cuirass; practising every indulgence they know, having a passion for

* **Persian disregard for temples, images, etc.**—This disregard amongst the Persians for temples, images, etc., naturally arose from their adoration of the element of Fire, the principal object of their worship, the symbol of the primal fire, or creative energy of the Godhead, from whence emanated *Ormuzd* himself, the author of all good; and also from their worship of the Sun, the second great national deity of the Persians, whose whole mythology might be said to turn upon the ideas of light and the sun, their established symbols of wisdom, goodness, and excellence. See *Heeren*. Creuzer, as quoted by Baehr, remarks, that the relics of temples recently discovered, do not contradict the testimony of Herodotus, who is here speaking of the earlier and purer state of the Persian religion, before any of the superstitions of other nations had been ingrafted on it.

boys, and marrying many wives and keeping many concubines.

Education of youth.—Next to bravery, they think it the highest honour to beget children, and every year the king sends gifts to those who have the largest families. From five to 20 years the boys are taught to ride, use the bow, and speak the truth ; till they are five, they live with the women, and never see their father, that if they die early it may not grieve him. The king can execute no one for a single crime, nor can a private Persian be severe with his domestics, unless their faults be greater than their services. They consider parricide impossible. They are not allowed to mention what is unlawful ; look upon lying as the greatest disgrace, and being in debt the next ; expel all lepers from cities, also white pigeons ; venerate rivers, and end all epithets derived from their rank or personal qualifications with the same letter which the Dorians call *San* and the Ionians *Sigma*.

Additional observations.— These facts Herodotus knows positively ; he also knows that the corpses of the Magi are not buried till torn by some bird or dog, but is not sure if this is the custom with the Persians generally : after this they covered the corpse with wax, and concealed it under ground. The Magi differ from the Egyptian priests, for the latter will not kill, whilst the former will slay any thing but a dog or man, and are most anxious to destroy ants and serpents, and all other creeping and flying things.

VI. *Account of Asiatic Greeks, Lydian revolt, and conquests of Mazares and Harpagus, chap. 141—176.*

Ionians and Æolians send to Cyrus.— Asiatic Greece. 141

When the Lydians were conquered by Cyrus, the Ionians and Æolians sent to beg they might be subject to him on the same terms as they had been to Croesus ; but Cyrus applied to them the fable of the fishes, who refused to dance to the piper till caught in his net, because they had not listened to him when he had requested their assistance before taking Sardis (c. 76). Upon this the Ionians fortified their towns and met at the Panionium, with the exception of the Milesians, who

concluded an alliance with Cyrus. The Ionians then sent to Sparta for assistance.

- 142 **Ionians, their cities and language.**—These Ionians, to whom the Panionium belongs,* have built their cities in the finest climate in the known world. The cities are as follows :

Miletus,	} in Caria.	Ephesus,	} in Lydia.
Myus,		Colophon,	
Priene,		Lebedus,	
Samos,		Teos,	
Chios,	} Islands.	Clazomenæ,	
Erythræ.		Phocæa,	

- 143 They have four different dialects. Those in Caria speak one; those in Lydia a second; Chios and Erythræ a third; and Samos a fourth.

Of the above, the Milesians were safe by their alliance, as were the islanders, because the Phœnicians were still unsubdued by the Persians, and the latter were unskilled in maritime affairs. The Milesians had seceded because the Ionians were the weakest of all the Greek races. Indeed the Athenians and other Ionians shunned the name of Ionians, except these 12 cities, who gloried in it, and built the temple of Panionium for their own exclusive use, admitting none others save the Smyrnæans (c. 154).

- 144 **Dorian cities.**—In the same way the Dorians of the present Pentapolis, formerly called Hexapolis, exclude all others from their temple of Triopian Apollo. They have six cities, viz. Lindus, Ialyssus, Cameirus, Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus. But Halicarnassus was excluded

* The Panionium was one great national panegyris, or assembly of the Ionians on Mount Mycale, where their national god Poseidon Heliconius had his sanctuary, called the Panionium (i. 148). One of the principal objects of this national assembly was the common worship of Poseidon; but on certain emergencies, especially in case of any danger threatening their country, the Ionians discussed at these meetings political questions, and passed resolutions which were binding upon all. But the political union among the Ionians appears to have been very loose, and their confederacy to have been without any regular internal organization, for the Lydians conquered one Ionian town after another (i. 26) without the appearance of any thing like the spirit of a political confederacy; and a single city, Miletus, as mentioned in the text, concluded a separate treaty for herself, and abandoned her confederates to their fate.

because Agasicles of that city had hung a brazen tripod, which he had won in the games of the Triopian Apollo, in his own house, when he ought to have dedicated in the temple.

Ionians in 12 cities, like the 12 divisions of Achæans. 145

—Herodotus thinks that the Ionians formed themselves into 12 cities, because they were in 12 divisions when they dwelt in the Peloponnesus, and the Achæans who expelled them were also in 12 divisions, viz. Pellene nearest to Sicyon, next Ægira, Ægæ, Bura, Helice, Ægium, Rhypes, Patrees, Pharees, Olenus, and the only inland towns of Dyma and Trytæes.

Their mixed descent.—The 12 Ionian cities are not 146 of purer blood than the rest, for a part of them are Abantes from Eubœa, and they have also mingled with the Minyan Orchomenians, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocians, Molossians, Arcadian Pelasgians, Dorian Epidaurians, etc. Even those who came from the Prytaneum of Athens, and consider themselves the noblest Ionians, brought no wives, but seized and married Carian women at Miletus, after killing the men ; for which the women bound themselves and their daughters never to eat with their husbands, or call them by that name. The Ionians 147 chose kings ; some from the Lycians, of the posterity of Glaucus, son of Hippolochus ; others Cauconian Pylians, descended from Codrus, son of Melanthus ; and others from both families. As they are most attached to the name of Ionians, let it be admitted that they are so ; but still all are Ionians who originally came from Athens and celebrate the Apaturian festival, which is done by all except the Ephesians and Colophonians, who are excluded on account of a murder.

The Panionium is a sacred place on the headland 148 of Mycale, looking towards the north, and consecrated to the Heliconian Poseidon, and there all the Ionians celebrate the Panionian festival. The names of all Greek and Ionian festivals end with *Sigma*.

Æolian cities.—The Æolian cities are : Cyma, (also 149 called Phriconis,) Larissæ, Neon-teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægææ, Myrina, and Grynia. They had a 12th, Smyrna, but it was taken by the

- Ionians. The Æolian country is more fertile than the
 150 Ionian, but inferior in climate. Smyrna had been treacherously seized by Colophonian [Ionian] exiles, whilst the Smyrnæans, who had previously received them, were celebrating the feast of Dionysus without the walls. All the Æolians came to the relief of the Smyrnæans, who then had their property restored on condition of giving up the town, and were afterwards distributed
 151 among the other eleven cities. These are the Æolian cities on the continent, without counting those on Ida, which are distinct from the confederation. They have also five cities in the isle of Lesbos, a sixth, Arisba, was enslaved by the Methymnæans; one in the isle of Tenedos, and another in the Hundred Islands. The Lesbians and Tenedians, like the Ionian islanders, had nothing to fear (c. 143). The Æolians determined to follow the course pursued by the Ionians.

- 152 **PELOPONNESUS.** **Ionians and Æolians send to Sparta.**—
 Lacedæmon. The Ionian and Æolian ambassadors, having arrived at Sparta, (c. 141,) chose Pythermus, a Phocæan, as spokesman; who, dressed in a purple robe, made a long but ineffectual speech to the Spartans, and the ambassadors returned.

- Lacedæmonians warn Cyrus.**—The Lacedæmonians then sent a fifty-oared vessel to Phocæa, to watch the movements of Cyrus and the Ionians; and Lacrines was sent on board to warn Cyrus from injuring any city on
 153 the Grecian territory. Cyrus, having learnt who the Lacedæmonians were, replied that he feared not men who set apart a place in the city for cheating and lying (alluding to their market, which is unknown in Persia); and added, that if he kept his health, they should have to talk, not of the Ionian sufferings, but of their own. Cyrus then made Tabalus, a Persian, governor of Sardis, and appointed Pactyes, a Lydian, to superintend the conveyance of the Lydian gold to Persia. Then, taking Cræsus with him, he marched to Ecbatana to reduce Babylon, and the Bactrians, Sacæ, and Egyptians, purposing to send some general against the Ionians.

- 154 **Cyrus marches against Babylon: Pactyes and the**

Lydians revolt.—When Cyrus had left Sardis, Pactyes induced the Lydians to revolt, and having hired mercenaries with the gold intrusted to him, and prevailed on the people of the coast to join him, he besieged Tabalus in Sardis. Cyrus, hearing this, wished to enslave the Lydians, but Croesus persuaded him to punish Pactyes only, and weaken the Lydians by taking away their arms, teaching them to play the cithara and guitar, and ordering them to wear tunics and buskins. Cyrus then sent Mazares, a Mede, to carry out this advice, but with orders to enslave those who had attacked Sardis, and to bring him Pactyes alive. 155

Mazares punishes the rebels.—Pactyes now fled to Cyma, and meantime Mazares reached Sardis, and compelled the Lydians to change their mode of life. He then sent to Cyma for Pactyes, but the Cymæans first consulted the oracle at Branchidæ, situated in Milesia, above Pannormus, who ordered them to deliver him up. But Aristodicus, a man of repute, distrusting the oracle and doubting the consulters, restrained the Cymæans, and went himself to the oracle, who returned the same answer. Upon this Aristodicus took away the birds who had built nests in the temple, and on being reproached by the oracle, asked how the god could succour his own suppliants, but command the Cymæans to give up theirs. The oracle replied, that he did so for their impiety, that they themselves might the sooner perish and be disabled from questioning him again about the giving up of suppliants. The Cymæans, afraid of perishing by giving up Pactyes, or of a siege by keeping him, sent him to Mytilene [in Lesbos, afterwards written Mitylene, ii. 178]; but learning that the Mytilenæans were about to give him up for a bribe, despatched a vessel to remove him to Chios. Here the Chians dragged him from the temple of Athene the protectress, and delivered him up to the Persians in exchange for the district of Atarneus in Mysia, opposite Lesbos. The Persians kept him under a strict guard. For a long time the Chians would use no produce of Atarneus for their temples or offerings. 157 158 159 160

Mazares warred against those who had besieged Tabalus. 161

lus; reduced the Prienians to slavery; ravaged Mæander and Magnesia; and then died of disease.

- 162 Asiatic Greece. **Harpagus succeeds Mazares and invades Ionia.**—Harpagus the Mede (c. 118, 119) was appointed to succeed Mazares. He invaded Ionia and took the cities by storm, by heaping mounds against the battlements. He first took Phocæa.

- 163 **Voyages of the Phocæans.**—The Phocæans were the first Greeks who made long voyages, and discovered the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, and Iberia and Tartessus (iv. 152). They sailed in fifty-oared galleys. They had been great favourites of Arganthionius, king of Tartessus, who reigned 80 years, and lived 120. He urged them to settle in his country, and, on their refusal, gave them sufficient money to surround their city with a wall.

- 164 **Phocæa taken.**—Harpagus only required the Phocæans to throw down one battlement and consecrate one house to Cyrus, but they asked him to draw off his army for one day whilst they deliberated, and then took their wives, children, goods, and images in fifty-oared galleys to Chios. The Persians then entered Phocæa.

- 165 **Migrations of the Phocæans.**—The Phocæans wished to purchase the Cénussæ isles of the Chians, but the latter refused to sell them, lest the Phocæans should injure the trade at Chios. The Phocæans then returned to Phocæa, massacred the Persian garrison left by Harpagus, and sunk a red-hot mass of iron into the sea, swearing never to return till it should rise again. They then, as Arganthionius was dead, sailed to Cyrrus, [Corsica,] where 20 years previously they had founded a city, Alalia, in obedience to an oracle, but half of them broke their oath and returned to Phocæa.

- 166 **Obtain a Cadmean victory over the Carthaginians.**—At Cyrrus the remaining Phocæans lived for five years, but having plundered their neighbours, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians attacked them with 60 ships. The Phocæans met them with other 60 ships, but gained only a Cadmean victory, 40 of their own ships being destroyed and 20 disabled.

- 167 **Colonize Hyela.**—The Phocæans then sailed back to

Alalia, and taking their wives, children, and goods, retired to Rhegium, and from thence to Cēnotria, [Italy,] where they colonized Hyela; a Posidonian explaining that the Pythia had told them to build a statue to Cýrnuſ the hero, and not to colonize the island (c. 165). Meanwhile the Carthaginians stoned their prisoners on the Agyllæan shore, whereupon all beasts and men who passed there were crippled, distorted, or convulsed, till the Agyllæans, by the advice of the oracle, expiated their guilt by establishing funeral games in honour of the slain.

Teos taken.—The Teians behaved like 168
the Phocæans, and when Harpagus gained Asiatic Greece.
their walls, they sailed for Thrace and settled in Abdera, which had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenæ, who was subsequently exiled, but now honoured as a god.

Conquest of Ionia and Æolis completed.—The Teians 169
and Phocæans were the only Ionians who left their countries. The rest, except the Milesians, met and were defeated by Harpagus, and paid tribute. The Greeks in Asia were thus subdued a second time (c. 6, 28); the islands also submitted to Cyrus. The Ionians however 170
continued to hold assemblies in the Panionium, and here Bias of Priene proposed that they should sail in a common fleet to Sardinia and build one city for all their body. Had they followed this advice they would have been the most flourishing of the Greeks. Previously that of Thales the Milesian was good, viz. that they should establish one general council at Teos, the centre of Ionia.

Harpagus marches against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians.—Harpagus then, with Ionians and Æolians 171
in his ranks, marched against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians.

Origin of the Carians.—The Carians were anciently islanders, under Minos, and called Leleges,* but paid no

* The Carians or Leleges were anciently possessed of all the islands and shores of the Archipelago, but their naval empire was destroyed by Minos, king of Crete, about B. C. 1250. The statement of Thucydides (i. 4), that Minos expelled the Carians from the Cyclades, need not be considered as contradictory of the account of Herodotus; for probably he expelled only those who were unwilling to submit, leaving however the rest, who submitted to his authority.

tribute. They became famous for manning the ships of Minos, and invented crests for helmets, devices for shields, and handles for bucklers, which had been previously slung round the neck and over the left shoulder with leathern belts. After a time the Dorians and Ionians drove them to the continent. This is the Cretan account. The Carians declare themselves to be continental aborigines, and in proof show, at Mylasa, an ancient temple of the Carian Zeus, shared by the Mysians and Lydians, for they say that Mysus and Lydus were brothers of Car.

- 172 **Origin of the Caunians.**—Herodotus thinks the Caunians to have been aborigines, though they say that they are from Crete. Either they have adopted the Carian language, or the Carians theirs. Their customs however are wholly distinct, even from the Carians; men, women, and boys drinking together, etc. They formerly worshipped foreign gods, but afterwards determined upon having only their own national deities. Accordingly, the whole nation chased the strange gods to the Calyndian confines.

- 173 **Origin of the Lycians.**—The Lycians* sprang from Crete (vii. 92), which was anciently occupied by Barbarians.† In the contest between the sons of Europa, Minos and Sarpedon, for the throne, Minos drove out Sarpedon and his party, who then settled in Milyas, in Asia, [now called Lycia,] the people of which were called Solymi. Under Sarpedon they were styled Termilæ, by

* **The Lycians** were the most civilized people on the south coast of Asia Minor. According to Strabo, their cities, at an early period, formed a federal league, resembling that of the Achæans. They held congresses, and were governed by a President, styled Lysiar-chus, with other subordinate magistrates. See *Heeren's Asiatic Nations*.

† **Crete.**—The most ancient inhabitants of Crete were the Eteo-cretæ, true Cretans, or aborigines, whose king was Cres; afterwards came the Pelasgi; thirdly, the Dorians, under Tectamus, son of Dorus; and lastly, a mixture of Barbarian tribes, who adopted the language of the inhabitants they found already there. The Minos here mentioned was the grandfather of the Minos mentioned by Thucydides, as famous for his naval power. He was the son of Jupiter, by Europa, and Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon were his brothers. Sarpedon, it is said, went over to Asia with an army, and occupied Lycia and the neighbouring territory.

which they are still known to their neighbours. They were called Lycians from Lycus, who was driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, and settled amongst them. Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian, and they have a peculiar one, viz. they take their name and rank from their mother, whether their father be slave or freedman.

Conquest of the Carians, Cnidians, and others.—The 174
Carians were subdued by Harpagus, and, like other Greeks in that part, without achieving any memorable deed. Amongst the others were the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territory is called Triopium, and beginning from the Bybassian peninsula, juts out with the Triopium sea. Cnidus is thus entirely surrounded by the sea, except a narrow neck about five stadia [rather more than half a mile across]; whilst Harpagus was subjugating Ionia the Cnidians thought to make their peninsula an island, and began to excavate a ditch across the isthmus; but the workmen were often unaccountably wounded, and on consulting the oracle at Delphi, were thus told to desist;

“Dig not the Isthmus through, nor build a tower,
Zeus would have made an island had he wished it.”

The Cnidians obeyed the oracle, and afterwards surrendered to Harpagus without resistance.

The Pedasians, an inland tribe above Halicarnassus, 175
were the only people about Caria that opposed Harpagus for any length of time. They fortified Mount Lyda, which was captured after giving considerable trouble, and the nation subdued. Whenever evil was about to befall them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene had a long beard. This prodigy has happened thrice.

Conquest of the Lycians and Caunians.—The Lycians 176
met Harpagus before Xanthus, and after showing great bravery, were defeated and forced back within their walls. They then collected their wives, children, servants, and goods in the citadel, and burnt all to the ground, whilst the men sallied forth and died fighting. All modern Lycians said to be Xanthians are strangers, except 80 families, who were then away from home. In a similar

manner, Harpagus subdued the Caunians, who generally followed the example of the Lycians. (*Continued at v. 28.*)

VII. *Conquest of Assyria, and war with the Massagetae, chap. 177—216.*

177 **CYRUS attacks the Assyrians [Babyl-**
178 **onians].—**Whilst Harpagus reduced Lower
CENTRAL ASIA. Asia, [or Asia Minor,] Cyrus conquered Up-
Banks of the per Asia, and last of all attacked the Assy-
Euphrates. rians, who possess many large cities, but the chief is
Babylon, which, since the destruction of Nineveh, has
been the seat of government.*

* **History of the Babylonian and Chaldee-Babylonian empires,** as derived from Berosus and the Old Testament.—The long line of Babylonian kings stretches, like that of the Assyrian, far back into the drear antique. Berosus reckons five dynasties between the flood and the Assyrian supremacy. 1. A primeval dynasty analogous to that of Ninus at Nineveh (comp. Herod. i. 95, note). 2. A Median dynasty commencing with Zoroaster. 3. A dynasty of eleven kings of an unknown nation. 4. Forty-nine Chaldean kings. 5. Nine Arabian kings. This brings us to the time when Babylon was subdued by Assyria, and the empire of the latter extended over all Upper Asia for 520 years, B. C. 1231—711. During this period forty-five kings or viceroys under the Assyrian power reigned over Babylon. One of these, Nabonassar, is celebrated, because the date of his accession to the throne [Feb. 26th, B. C. 747] was fixed upon by the Babylonian astronomers as the era from whence to begin their calculations. His wife is supposed to be the Semiramis of Herodotus. In B. C. 711, a heavy blow was inflicted upon the Assyrian supremacy by the destruction of the army of Sennacherib, and subsequent revolt of the Medes; and Babylon, under the same Merodach Baladan who sent messengers to Hezekiah, king of Judah, chose this critical moment for asserting her independence. So daring a rebellion at a distance of only 200 miles to the south of Nineveh, was not to be tamely endured by an empire which for five centuries had maintained her rule over the fairest regions of the ancient world. Babylon was resubdued by Esarhaddon, the successor of Sennacherib, who was however foiled in his attempts to reduce the revolted Medes. But the princes of Assyria, after Esarhaddon, were enfeebled by luxury, and a new revolution completed the destruction of the empire. The Chaldees or Kasdim, as they are called by the Hebrews, were a warlike race who occupied the mountains which fringe Mesopotamia on the north, and like the modern Kurds, they in part wandered over and in part occupied the underlying plains. The bands of Chaldees vied in enterprise with those of the Scythians. Profiting by the general disorganization they set Nine-

Description of Babylon.—Babylon stands in a spacious plain, and is a perfect square, each side measuring 120 stadia, [about 15 miles,] the four sides of the city therefore constituted a circuit of 480 stadia [about 60 miles] in all. It is surrounded by a wide and deep moat, and by a wall 50 royal cubits [about 84 feet] in breadth, and 200 [about 320 feet] in height: a royal cubit is three digits longer than the common one. This wall was built with bricks made of the soil dug from the moat; and for cement hot bitumen was used, which was obtained from the river Is, which falls into the Euphrates, and on which was a small city called Is, about eight days' journey [or 200 miles] from Babylon. Between every 30th course of bricks a layer of wattled reeds was placed. In the circumference of the wall were 100 brazen gates, and on the top of it towers were built, with a space between each sufficient to turn a chariot with four horses. 179

The city was divided in the middle by the Euphrates, which rises in Armenia, and falls into the Erythraean Sea. The city wall on each side elbows down to the river, and is there joined by a brick wall running along the curvatures of each bank, with brazen gates opening on the cross streets. The houses are three or four stories high, and arranged in straight streets cutting one another. Within the outside wall was another scarcely inferior. In the centre of each quarter of the city were 180

veh at defiance, and at length, about B. C. 625, seized Babylon. Nabopolassar appears to have been the name of the first king of this new Chaldee-Babylonian kingdom. He allied with Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and the two powers then took Nineveh and shared the Assyrian empire; the Medes appropriating Assyria Proper, and leaving to Nabopolassar Babylonia and its dependent provinces, and as much as he could conquer of Syria. The kings of Babylon appear to have been as follows. 1. Nabopolassar, B. C. 625, first known king of the Chaldees. 2. Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 606, who subdued Egypt and Phœnicia, and carried Judah into captivity. 3. Evil-Merodach, B. C. 562. 4. Neriglissar, B. C. 560. 5. Labarassarchad, B. C. 556. 6. Labynetus, called Belshazzar in the Old Testament, and Nabonnedus in Josephus, B. C. 555. He allied with Cræsus, king of Lydia. He was the son, or rather grandson, of Nebuchadnezzar, and his mother appears to have been the Nitocris of Herodotus. In his reign Babylon was taken by Cyrus, and the empire destroyed. Herodotus calls the Babylonians also Assyrians, and mentions the transfer of the Ninevite power to Babylon. 181

- fortifications : in one was the royal palace, strongly wall-
 ed ; in another the strongly-walled and brazen-gated
 precinct of Zeus Belus, of a square form, each side measur-
 ing two stadia [$\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile]. In the middle of the pre-
 cincts was a tower one stadium [$\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile] in length and
 breadth, and on it were other towers, making eight in all,
 with a spiral access outside, in the middle of which was
 a landing-place and seats. In the topmost tower stood
 a temple, containing a golden table and large couch, but
 no statue. A woman sleeps there chosen by the god, with
 182 whom the priests say he has intercourse. The same
 thing occurs in the temple of the Theban Zeus, in Egypt,
 183 and at Patara, in Lycia. Lower down is another tem-
 ple containing a large golden Zeus, seated, with a golden
 table, throne, and footstool, weighing 800 talents, [about
 22 tons,*] as the Chaldeans say. Outside the temple is
 a golden altar on which sucklings are offered, and a
 larger altar for full-grown sheep. On the last, 1000 ta-
 lents [about 27 tons] of frankincense are consumed yearly.
 There is a also a golden statue 12 cubits [18 feet] high,
 which Herodotus did not see. Darius, son of Hystaspes,
 was afraid to take it away, but Xerxes, son of Darius,
 did so, and killed the priest who forbade him.
- 184 **Semiramis, 747—733, and Nitocris, 604—561.—**
 Among the sovereigns who beautified Babylon were two
 women. The first, Semiramis, [wife of Nabonassar, from
 whose accession the Era is dated, i. 178, note,] lived five
 generations before the other, who was named Nitocris,
 [and is supposed to have been the wife of Nebuchadnezzar,
 c. 178, note]. Semiramis raised mounds to confine the
 185 river, which had formerly overflowed. Nitocris was of
 still greater genius. She left monuments of herself, and
 seeing that the Medes had extended their power, she
 multiplied her defences ; made the channel of the Eu-
 phrates so winding that it touched the village Arderica
 three times ; dug a lake 420 stadia [about $52\frac{1}{2}$ miles] in
 circumference, cased with stones, and with the excavated
 earth formed immense embankments on both sides of the
 river. The lake and windings of the river were made to

* The Babylonian talent was equal to 70 Euboic minæ, iii. 89.

break the force of the stream, and oblige travellers to march round the lake, thus rendering the journey intricate for the Medes. Nitocris diverted the river into the lake, and then cased the river banks with burnt bricks, and joined the two divisions of the city by building bridges, consisting of planks, which rested on stone piers, and were removed at night. When the river was again turned to its native channel, the lake became a marsh. 186

Tomb of Nitocris.—Nitocris built her sepulchre over the most-frequented city gate, with an inscription, desiring any of her successors who really wanted money to open it, but not otherwise. Darius opened it, but only found the skeleton with a scroll on which was written, “Had you not been so greedy of money, you would not have broken into the chambers of the dead.” 187

Cyrus marches against Labynetus, king of Assyria 188
[Babylon].—Cyrus made war upon Labynetus, [Belshazzar,] son of Nitocris. When the Persian kings lead their armies they take provision and cattle from home; also water from Choaspes, of which water only the king drinks. This is boiled and stored in silver vessels carried in four-wheeled waggons. Cyrus, on his march to Babylon, was stopped at the river Gyndes by one of the sacred white horses drowning himself. The Gyndes flows from the Matienian mountains through the Dardanian country into the Tigris, which runs by the city Opis into the Erythræan Sea. Cyrus was enraged, and weakened the Gyndes by employing his army a whole summer in dividing it into 360 channels. In the second spring he advanced upon the Babylonians, and defeated them, but they shut themselves in the city, where several years’ provision was stored. 189

Babylon taken, 536.*—Cyrus then, dividing the bulk of his army into two divisions, placed one where the river enters Babylon, and another at its exit. Then diverting the river into the lake, the Euphrates became fordable,† 191

* This is Dr. Gaisford’s date. Clinton fixes it in B. C. 538: see c. 214.

† “A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up . . . I will dry up her sea and make her springs dry.” Jer. l. 38; li. 36. B. C. 595.

and the Persians entered the city so unexpectedly, that the inhabitants, who were engaged at a festival,* neglected to shut the river gates,† by which they might have caught the besiegers in a trap. So large was Babylon, that the people in the centre were not aware when the extremities were taken.‡

- 192 **Greatness of Babylon.**—The power of the Babylonians is thus proved. The territory of the Persian king is divided into districts which furnish subsistence for him and his army, in addition to the tribute. All Asia supports him for eight months, and Babylon for the remaining four. The revenue of this district, which is called a satrapy, furnished every day to Tritantæchmes, who held that government from the king, a full artaba of silver—a Persian measure three Attic choenices more than the Attic medimnus [or about $12\frac{1}{2}$ gallons]. Moreover, besides war horses, he possessed 800 stallions and 16,000 mares, and so many packs of Indian dogs, that four towns were exempted from taxes, and appointed to find them food.

- 193 **Fertility of the country.**—Assyria has but little rain, but is irrigated by machine. It is intersected by canals, the largest of which unites the Euphrates and Tigris. It is the best country for corn, bearing from 200 to 300 fold, but not for figs, vines, or olives. The height of millet and sesama is incredible. Blades of wheat and barley are four digits [three inches] in breadth. Palm trees abound, bearing fruit of which the natives make bread, wine, and honey. These palms they cultivate in the same way as fig-trees; for they tie the fruit about the branches of the date-bearing trees, in order that the fly [or gall insect, *Cynips* of

* "And I will make drunk her princes and her wise men, her captains, her rulers, and her mighty men: and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the King, whose name is the Lord of hosts." Jer. li. 57.

† "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut." Isa. xlv. 1, about B. C. 708.

‡ "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end." Jer. li. 31.

Linnaeus] may enter the dates to prevent the fruit of the palm from falling off.

Babylonian manners, customs, and dress.—Next to 194 the city, the Armenian boats for navigating the Euphrates are most wonderful. They are circular, so that there is no difference between stern and prow, and they are made with hides stretched over willow ribs, and lined with reeds. The largest of these vessels are 5000 talents [about 135 tons] burden. Their freight chiefly consists of casks of date wine. Each vessel is steered by two spars, and has an ass on board, which carries back the hides after the merchandise, reeds, and ribs are sold, it being impossible to navigate against the stream.

The Babylonians wear a linen tunic, another of wool, 195 a short white cloak, peculiar sandals like the Boeotian clogs, long hair, turbans, and perfumes. Each man has 196 a seal and carved staff. The wisest of their customs is this. They sell all their marriageable maidens by auction, and give the money which the handsome ones produce to those who will marry the ugly ones; and a father cannot give his daughter to whom he chooses, nor can a purchaser take away a girl without giving his bond to marry her, and if the couple do not agree the money is returned. The Veneti of Illyria have the same custom. Since the taking of the city, the Babylonians have prostituted their daughters. They have no physicians, but take their sick 197 to the market-place to have the advice and experience of passers-by. They embalm their dead in honey, and mourn 198 like the Egyptians. Both men and women sit over burning incense and wash after sexual intercourse like the Arabians. Their most disgraceful custom is, that 199 every unmarried woman is obliged to prostitute herself once in the temple of Aphrodite, called Mylitta [genetrix] by the Assyrians.* A similar custom prevails at Cyprus. Three tribes of them live entirely upon dried 200 fish, pounded and kneaded, or baked into bread.

* "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken." Baruch vi. 43.

- 201 **Cyrus attacks the Massagetæ.**—Having reduced Assyria, Cyrus designed subduing the Massagetæ,* a strong and brave nation, dwelling east of the river Araxes, opposite the Issedones, and by some said to be Scythian.
- 202 **The Araxes river.**—The Araxes is said by some to be greater, by others less, than the Ister. It has many islands as large as Lesbos, the fruit of which when burnt and inhaled will intoxicate. Their natives in the summer feed upon roots, in the winter upon ripe fruits which they preserve. The Araxes, like the Gyndes, springs from the Matienian mountains, gushing from 40 springs, all but one of which fall into marshes, where men dwell who live on salt fish, and dress in the skins of sea-calves. The single stream flows on to the Caspian, which is a sea distinct from all others, for the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Erythrean are all one.
- 203 **The Caspian Sea.**—The Caspian is 15 days' voyage long in a rowing boat, and eight days' broad at the widest. It is bounded on the west by the Caucasus, the largest and loftiest of mountains, where men live on wild fruit trees, paint figures on their garments, and have sexual intercourse openly; and on the east by a vast plain, chiefly occupied by the Massagetæ. Cyrus attacked the Massagetæ; 1st, because the circumstance of his birth made him fancy himself more than human; and 2ndly, because of his uniform good fortune.
- 205 **Defeat of the Massagetæ.**—Tomyris was then queen of the Massagetæ, and Cyrus offered her marriage, but she, seeing that he only wanted the kingdom, forbade his messengers to approach. Cyrus then led his army to the Araxes, threw bridges over the river, and built floating castles. Meantime Tomyris sent to propose that either
- 206 she should retire three days' march into her country, and

* **The Massagetæ** and the Issedones both belonged to the great Mongol race, and were undoubtedly Scythians. The principal points of similarity between the Massagetæ and the Scythians, beside the nomad life common to both, were: 1st, Their dress and living (i. 215). 2nd, Their abode in waggons or carriages (i. 216, and iv. 46, 121). 3rd, Their fighting chiefly on horseback (i. 215, iv. 46, 136). 4th, Their sacrifices of horses to their deities (i. 216; iv. 61).

there receive him, or he should do the same, and meet her on his side of the Araxes. The Persians unanimously advised Cyrus to do the latter. But Crœsus advised the former, and also recommended Cyrus to weaken the Massagetæ by placing a feast in their way. This Cyrus followed, and then, after charging his son Cambyses to treat Crœsus well, he sent them to Persia and crossed the Araxes. Next night Cyrus dreamed that Darius, the eldest son of Hystaspes, appeared to him with wings on his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, and the other Europe. Accordingly, he informed Hystaspes of his dream and sent him back to Persia, desiring him to bring his son Darius, who was about 20 years old, to be examined after the conclusion of the war. Hystaspes proceeded to Persia, and Cyrus advanced one day's march from the Araxes, retiring again after leaving the least efficient division of his army behind. A detachment of the Massagetæ soon cut these to pieces, and then, finding a feast laid out, they fell to eating and drinking greedily. In this situation, the Persians attacked and slaughtered several, but took more prisoners, and amongst others, Spargapises, son of Tomyris.

Cyrus defeated and slain, 530.—The queen then sent to request that her son might be restored, swearing by the sun, the god of the Massagetæ, to glut Cyrus with blood, if refused. Cyrus took no notice of the message, and Spargapises, on recovering from his drunkenness, was released from his bonds, and slew himself. Tomyris then marched all her forces against the Persians, and routed them after a most obstinate engagement, in which both armies exhausted their arrows, and engaged man to man with swords and javelins. Most of the Persians were cut to pieces, and Cyrus was slain, after reigning 29 years. [B. c. 530, in the seventh year from the restoration of the Jews, and the ninth from the taking of Babylon.] Tomyris found his body, and thrust the head into a skin of blood, in accordance with her oath.

Manners and customs of the Massagetæ.—The Massagetæ resemble the Scythians in their dress and living. Their army consists of cavalry, infantry, archers, and javelin men who bear battle-axes, [two-headed, or rather

two-edged axes ; the weapon of the Sacæ and Scythians in Xerxes' army, vii. 64 ; also used by the Persians and Amazons.] They use gold and brass instead of iron or
216 silver, having none of the latter. Every man marries, but indiscriminately breaks the marriage ties ; a custom which the Greeks ascribe to the Scythians generally, but is peculiar to the Massagetæ. Old men they kill, boil, and eat, but bury the diseased. They live on cattle, fish, and milk. They worship no god but the sun, to whom they sacrifice horses—the swiftest of creatures to the swiftest of gods.

BOOK II. EUTERPE.

HISTORY OF EGYPT AND THE EGYPTIANS, FROM THE MYTHIC PERIOD
TILL THE REIGN OF AMASIS, B. C. 570.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Physical History of Egypt.*

Cambyases, 530—523; prepares to invade Egypt.—Antiquity of Egypt.—Division of the year.—Egypt anciently a morass.—Its extent.—Anciently an arm of the Mediterranean as the Red Sea is of the Indian Ocean.—Proofs.—The Delta.—Egypt Proper according to the Ionians.—Egypt Proper according to Herodotus.—Causes of the overflow of the Nile.—Greek theories refuted.—Theory of Herodotus.—Sources of the Nile.—Account of the Nile from Elephantis to the Automali.—Further account of the Nile. Chap. 1—34.

II. *Religion, Manners, Customs, Dress, Animals, etc. of the Egyptians.*

Peculiar customs of the Egyptians.—The priests.—Sacred bulls.—Mode of sacrifice.—Burial of cattle.—Difference of worship in the Theban and Mendesian nomes.—Antiquity of the Egyptian Heracles.—Antiquity of the Phœnician Heracles.—Absurd story of the Greek Heracles.—Mendesian worship of Pan.—Sacrifice of swine.—Feast of the Moon (Isis) and Dionysus (Osiris).—Egyptian origin of Greek deities.—Origin of the Dodonæan and Libyan oracles, 1980.—Egyptian festivals: Feasts of Artemis, Isis (Demeter), Athene, Sun, Leto, and Ares.—Veneration for animals: cats, crocodiles, the hippopotamus, otter, eel, fox-goose, phoenix, horned and winged serpents, and ibis.—Egyptian manners: dress, sacred days, divination, physicians, funerals.—Three modes of embalming.—Games in honour of Perseus.—Fish.—Oil.—Mosquitoes.—Merchant ships.—Navigation during the inundation of the Nile. Chap. 35—99.

EGYPTIAN KINGS.

III. *God-kings prior to Menes.*

445 Piromis at Thebes.—Orus (Apollo) the last god-king.—Egyptian and Greek accounts of Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan, compared. Chap. 143—146.

IV. *First Line of 330 Kings, including 18 Ethiopians. Only 3 mentioned.*

1. Menes, 2235—2173. Built Memphis; temple of Hephæstus: turned the Nile.
2. Nitocris, 1994—1982. Drowned her brother's murderers: stifled herself.
3. Mœris, 1445—1416. Dug Mœris; built N. portal of Heph's temple; pyramids. Chap. 99—101.

V. *Second Line : from Sesostris to Sethon.*

1. Sesostris, 1416. Conquered Erythræans, Scythians, Thracians: colonized Colchis: dug canals: Egypt divided and taxed: left Colossi: ruled Ethiopia.
2. Pheron, 1357. Blinded for spearing Nile: left two obelisks at temple of Sun.
3. Proteus, 1291. Temple to Aphrodite the Stranger: restored Helen to Menelaus.
4. Rhampsinitus, 1237. Built Western porch of Hephæstus's Temple: his treasury robbed: gamed with Demeter.
5. Cheops, 1182. Shut temples: all Egyptians work: built road, vaults, pyramid.
6. Chephren, 1132. Shut temples: built pyramid 40 feet lower than Cheops.
7. Mycerinus, 1076. Opened temples: daughter buried in a cow: Rhodopis.
8. Asychis, 1056. Pledged embalmed bodies: built black pyramid with Nile mud.
9. Anysis, 1006. Blind: fled to marshes from Sabacon the Ethiopian.
Charm of 250 years: Ethiopian supremacy.
10. Sabacon, 765. Culprits raised mounds: dreamed and left Egypt to Anysis.
11. Sethon, 715, priest of Hephæstus: seized his soldiers' lands: Sennacherib.
Chap. 102—141.

VI. *Third Line : from the twelve Kings to Amasis.*

- Dodecarchy or government of 12 kings, 671. The Labyrinth. [Description of Lake Moëris.] Psammitichus gains the throne by brazen helmet and brazen Ionians, etc.
12. Psammitichus, 650. Built S. porch of Hephæstus's temple: court for Apis.
[Description of the oracle of Leto and floating isle of Chemmis.]
 13. Necos, 617. Dug a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea: Syrians defeated.
 14. Psammis, 601. Elean deputation boast of their games.
 15. Apries, 595. Prosperous 25 years: beaten by Cyrenæans: army revolted.
[Egyptian castes.—Temple of Athene.—Mysteries of Demeter, etc.]
 16. Amasis, 570. Built Colossi; temple of Iris: Egypt prosperous.
Chap. 147—181.

SUMMARY.

I. *Physical History of Egypt, chap. 1—34.*

- 1

EASTERN	Cambyses, king, 530—523: prepares to invade Egypt.—Cambyses, [Ahasuerus, <i>Ezr.</i> iv. 5,] was the son of Cyrus, by Cassandane, who had died some time before deeply lamented. He now succeeded his father and prepared to invade Egypt, taking with him many of his subjects as well as the Ionians and Æolians, whom he regarded as his hereditary slaves.
AFRICA.	
Egypt.	
- 2 **Egypt, its Antiquity.**—Prior to the reign of Psammitichus the Egyptians had considered themselves to be the most ancient of mankind; but Herodotus heard from the priests of Hephæstus [or Pthah] at Memphis, that Psammitichus proved the Phrygians to be anterior, by shutting up two new-born children for two years, and having them

suckled by goats only, after which they could only say "Bekos,"—Phrygian for bread. [Explained by the scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. iv. 262, to be merely an imitation of the bleating of goats.] The Greeks add, that 3 these children were nursed by women with tongues cut out. Herodotus went to Thebes and Heliopolis to see if the traditions there agreed with those at Memphis, for the Heliopolitans are the best Egyptian historians. In the present work Herodotus is unwilling to relate divine things, and will therefore only mention names.

Division of the Year.—The Egyptians were the first 4 who discovered the year* from the stars, and marked the 12 divisions; and they thus act more wisely than the Greeks, who every third year add an intercalary month, on account of the seasons, for the Egyptian months are of 30 days, and they add five more days to each year, so that with them the circle of the seasons' comes round to the same point. The Egyptians first adopted and named the twelve gods, which the Greeks borrowed; and they also first erected altars, images, temples, and carved animals.

Egypt anciently a morass.—In the reign of Menes, the first man-king of Egypt, all the country save Thebais was a morass, and no land existed below [or rather northward of] Lake Mœris, which is now seven days' voyage on the river from the [Mediterranean] sea. Herodotus 5 believes this because that part of Egypt visited by the Greeks is a gift of the Nile, and for three days' sail above the lake the country is the same. The alluvial soil extends one day's sail from the coast, where a sounding lead will bring up mud in 11 fathom water.

Its extent.—The Egyptian coast from the Plinthinetic 6 bay to Lake Serbonis under Mount Casius is 60 schoeni,

* **Egyptian Year.**—The Egyptian year thus consisted of 365 days, falling short of the true time by a day in four years, a month in 120 years, etc. Geminus of Rhodes also says that the priests did not intercalate an additional $\frac{1}{4}$ day, and the old Latin Scholiast on the translation of Aratus says that the Egyptian priests made the kings swear at their inauguration at Memphis that they would keep up the old reckoning of 365 days alone. Diodorus however asserts that the inhabitants of Thebes intercalated $5\frac{1}{4}$ days, but it does not appear that a civil year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days was in common use before the cultivation of astronomy by the Greeks in Egypt. See *Kenrick's note*.

- or 3600 stadia [about 450 miles]:* the schoenus being equal to 60 stadia, and the parasang to 30 stadia. People with small territory measure by fathoms; with larger territory by parasangs; but with vast territory by schoeni.
- 7 From the sea to Heliopolis the country is a wide declivity, without fresh water though a slimy soil. The distance is 1500 stadia, [$187\frac{1}{2}$ miles,] or 15 stadia, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile more than the distance from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens [erected by Pisistratus, grandson of the tyrant, Thucyd. vi. 54] to the temple of the Olympian Zeus at
- 8 Pisa. Upwards [i. e. southwards] from Heliopolis Egypt is bounded on the east by the Arabian mountains, which run about two months' journey from north to south-west, and stretch to the Erythræan Sea; and which contain the stone quarries for the Memphian pyramids, and produce frankincense on their eastern confines. On the west it is bounded by a rocky mountain which divides it from Libya. From Heliopolis, the country for four days' voyage up the Nile is flat and very narrow, being only 200 stadia [25 miles] from the Arabian chain to the Libyan ridge in the
- 9 narrowest part: beyond that its breadth increases. From Heliopolis to Thebes is a nine days' voyage, or 4860 stadia, (81 schoeni,) [$607\frac{1}{2}$ miles].

	Stadia.	Miles.
The <i>breadth</i> of Egypt at the coast is then	3600	450
Ditto at the narrowest part above Heliopolis	200	25
The <i>length</i> from the coast to Heliopolis	1500	$187\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto from Heliopolis to Thebes	4860	$607\frac{1}{2}$
Total length from the coast to Thebes	6360	795

[In the text Herodotus says 6160 stadia, which must be a mistake of a copyist.] From Thebes to Elephantis is 1800 stadia [225 miles].

* Rennel says that Herodotus, in his description of Egypt, uses a peculiar stadium. This however is doubted by Kenrick and Dahlmann, to whom the more exact student is referred, as in the present work the round calculation of eight stadia to the mile is adhered to throughout.

Anciently an arm of the Mediterranean, as the Red Sea is of the Indian Ocean.—The space between the two mountains beyond Memphis seems to have been a bay of the sea filled up by the Nile, (c. 5,) each of whose five mouths is larger than the river Mæander near Ephesus, and those which made the Trojan plain. In the same way the Achelous, which is much smaller than the Nile, has converted half of the Echinades into a continent. [Thucyd. ii. 102.] There is also in Arabia a long, narrow sea, [now called the Red Sea,] 40 days' voyage long for a rowing boat, and only half a day's passage wide, with an ebb and flow daily. Herodotus thinks that Egypt was formerly a similar bay, stretching from the north sea [Mediterranean] towards Ethiopia, in the same way that the other stretches [from the Indian Ocean] towards Syria, the two almost meeting each other. He also thinks that if the Nile were turned into the Arabian Gulf the latter would be filled up in 20,000, or even 10,000 years.

Proofs.—Herodotus therefore credits what the Egyptian priests say, (c. 5,) because of the following proofs. —1st, Shells are found on the mountains, and a saline humour on the pyramids; 2nd, The soil is black and crumbling, instead of being red like the Libyan, or clayey and flinty like the Arabian and Syrian,—the mountain beyond Memphis alone is sandy; 3rd, The priests say that under king Mœris, [B. C. 1358—1329,] when the Nile rose 8 cubits, [12 feet,] it watered all Egypt below Memphis, whereas, in Herodotus's time (only 900 years afterwards) this was not done unless it rose 15 or 16 cubits [24 feet]. If the soil thus continues to grow, the Nile will not overflow at all, and the Egyptians must starve, a fate they consider likely to befall the Greeks if deprived of rain.

The Delta—is the most fertile part of Egypt, the corn here being simply trodden in the earth on the fall of the Nile by swine, who also thrash it.

Egypt Proper, according to the Ionians.—The Ionians say that the Delta alone is properly Egypt, extending 40 schoeni [2400 stadia, or 300 miles] along the sea, viz. from the tower of Perseus to the salt-pits of Pelusium; and inland to the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides,

one branch flowing to Pelusium, and the other to Canopus. The rest of Egypt they assign to Libya and Arabia. Herodotus refutes this ; for how could the Egyptians think themselves the most ancient people whilst their soil was alluvial? He believed that the Egyptians have existed since men have been, and spread over the country as fast as it increased. Hence Thebais was anciently called Egypt, which is 6120 stadia [765 miles] in circumference.

- 16 If the Ionians were correct here, they would be wrong in making but three divisions of the earth, Europe, Asia, and Libya, and in not adding the Delta. For the Nile does not separate Asia and Libya, but is divided at the point of the Delta, so that the latter must lie between the two regions.
- 17 **Egypt Proper, according to Herodotus.**—Herodotus considers that all the country inhabited by the Egyptians is Egypt, and that its frontier is the only boundary to Asia and Libya. But, according to the Ionians, Egypt is divided into two parts by the Nile flowing from the cataracts and Elephantis to the sea ; one part belonging to Libya, and the other to Asia. The Nile, however, only flows to Cercasorus in one stream, and there divides into three channels,—the Pelusian east, the Canopic west, and the Sebennytic which runs straight through the Delta. Two other mouths, the Saitic and the Mendesian, diverge
- 18 from the Sebennytic. The Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths are artificial. This opinion is confirmed by the oracle at Ammon ; for when the inhabitants of Marea and Apis in that part of Egypt which borders on Libya, begged permission to eat cows' flesh, because they dwelt out of the Delta, the oracle replied, "that all the country irrigated by the Nile was Egypt, and that all who drank of its stream below [northward of] Elephantis were Egyptians." And the Nile inundates not only the Delta, but also part of the country said to belong to Libya and Arabia, about two days' journey on either side.
- 19

Causes of the overflow of the Nile.—Herodotus wished to learn why the Nile overflowed for 100 days at the beginning of the summer solstice, and then retired ; and why this is the only river from whence no breezes blow ;

but he could get no information from the Egyptians. [The overflow of the Nile is really occasioned by the rains in the highlands, amongst which it rises.]

Greek theories refuted.—The Greeks attempt to account for it in three ways [of which Males, according to Seneca, was the author of the first; Hecataeus adopted the second; and Anaxagoras held the third]. They were as follows. I. *That the Etesian winds* [summer winds from the north, north-east, and south-west] *prevent its falling into the sea.* But the Nile has overflowed when these winds have not blown, and other rivers have run opposite the same winds both in Libya and Syria without overflowing. II. *That it flows from the ocean* *which surrounds the earth.* But the person [Hecataeus, see ii. 143, note] who talks about the ocean does not think of proving it. Herodotus does not know that such a river as Oceanus exists, except it be in Homer or other ancient poets. III. *That the Nile flows from melted snow.* This last is most specious, but most untrue, for it may be proved that the Nile runs from hotter regions: 1st, From the heat of the winds which blow from there. 2nd, Because there is no rain or ice there; and if it snowed, it must also rain within five days after. 3rd, That the inhabitants become black from the excessive heat. And, 4th, That kites and swallows continue there all the year, and cranes migrate there for winter quarters.

Theory of Herodotus.—Herodotus thinks that the overflow is caused by the sun which is driven by the winter storms into Upper Libya, and there, by its heat, keeps the river shallow throughout the season. On the approach of summer, however, the sun returns to its former position, and attracts no more water from the Nile than from other rivers. This also causes the heat in Upper Libya, but, if the order of the seasons was changed, and the north became south, the sun would retire to Upper Europe, as he now does to Upper Libya, and the Ister [Danube] would overflow like the Nile. It is the heat which prevents breezes from blowing from the river.

Sources of the Nile.—Herodotus never met any one who professed to know them, except the treasurer in the temple of Athene, at Saïs, and he seemed to be hoaxing,

though he said he knew all about them. He stated that two peaked mountains, Crophî and Mophî, were situated between Syene and Elephantis, and that between these rose the sources of the Nile, one half running northward through Egypt, and the other half southward through Ethiopia; and that Psammitichus (c. 153) had proved these to be bottomless, by letting down a rope several thousand fathom long, from which, if he spoke the truth at all, Herodotus inferred that strong eddies prevented the sounding line from reaching the bottom.

- 29 **Account of the Nile from Elephantis to the Automoli.**—Herodotus himself went to Elephantis, but of all above there he speaks from hearsay. Above Elephantis the country is steep, and the boat must be drawn by a rope attached to each side, because of the violence of the stream running against it. This extends over 12 schœni, [720 stadia, or 80 miles,] or four days' passage, during which the Nile winds like the Mæander. Beyond this is a plain where the Nile flows round an island called Tachompsô. Immediately above Elephantis are resident Ethiopians, who also occupy one half of the island, the other being inhabited by Egyptians. Close to the island is a vast lake, whose shores are inhabited by Ethiopian nomads. Beyond the lake you meet the bed of the Nile, which flows into it. Disembarking, you must then travel for 40 days on the river banks, as the Nile is un-navigable from shoals and rocks. Then after 12 days' sail you reach Meroë, the capital of Ethiopia, whose inhabitants worship only Zeus and Dionysus, whom they honour magnificently. They have also an oracle of
- 30 Zeus, whom they implicitly obey. Sailing from Meroë you reach the Automoli, (called Asmak, signifying, "*those who stand on the king's left hand*,") in the same time that it took to come from Elephantis to Meroë. They consist of 240,000 Egyptians of the war caste, (c. 164—168,) who deserted from Psammitichus, because he had garrisoned them in Elephantis, Daphnæ, Pelusiacæ, and Marea, for three years without relieving them. The king of Ethiopia had bade them expel some disaffected
- 31 Ethiopians and settle in their land. From Elephantis to the Automoli is a 4 months' journey. The Nile flows

from the west, but all beyond this is unknown, as the country is desert, from the broiling heat.

Further account of the Nile.—Herodotus was told by 32 certain Cyrenæans, that having been to the oracle of Ammon, they had an interview with Etearchus, king of the Ammonians, who said that certain Nasamones (a Libyan people who inhabit the Syrtis and country eastward, iv. 172) once visited him, and upon being asked if they had any fresh information to communicate concerning the deserts of Libya, replied, that five of their noble youths had been chosen by lot to explore the Libyan desert: for whilst the Libyan territory, which stretches along the Mediterranean from Egypt to Cape Solois, is peopled by Libyans, excepting the parts occupied by Greeks or Phœnicians; Upper [or southern] Libya is infested with wild beasts; and beyond that is desert. These five young men, being well provisioned, traversed these regions, and journeyed many days in the desert, till seeing some palm trees, they plucked the fruit, but were seized by pigmies, who carried them through some morasses to their city, by which flowed a great river from west to east, containing crocodiles. Etearchus conjectured this river to be the 33 Nile, which appears reasonable, as it flows from Libya and divides it in a manner corresponding to the Ister, which rises among the Celtæ, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and after dividing all Europe, falls into the Euxine. The Nile is also about as long as the Ister (iii. 50). 34

II. *Religion, Manners, Customs, Dress, Animals, etc. of the Egyptians, chap. 35—99.*

Peculiar customs of the Egyptians.—The Egyptians, 35 from their peculiar climate and river, have adopted peculiar customs. Their women attend markets, whilst the men weave at home. They throw the woof down the warp, whilst other nations throw it up. The men carry burdens on their heads; the women, on their shoulders. They eat out of doors, but discharge the necessities of nature within their houses [comp. Deut. xxiii. 13]. The men alone serve in the temples. Sons are not obliged to support their parents, but daughters are. Their priests 36 have shaven heads, but in other nations they have

long hair. The people wear long hair when mourning for near relations instead of shaving it. They live with their domestic animals. They make bread of spelt, thinking it infamous to feed on wheat or barley. They knead dough with their feet, but pick up dung or clay with their hands. They are circumcised. The men wear two garments, the women but one. They fasten the rings and sheets of their sails inside instead of outside. Contrary to the Greeks, they write and cipher from right to left. They have two sorts of letters, the
 37 sacred, and the common, or demotic.* They are most attentive to religious worship; drink from brazen cups, scoured every day; and wear clean linen garments.

The Priests.—The priests shave their whole bodies every third day to keep off vermin; and they wear linen only, and shoes of byblus; they also wash twice every day in cold water, and twice every night. They are kept at the public expense on beef, geese, and wine, but may not taste fish. The Egyptians never sow or eat beans, and the priests will not look at them. Each god has many priests, who are hereditary; one of them is chief.

38 **Sacred bulls.**—The bulls are sacred to Epaphus,† (iii.

* **Ancient Egyptian writing.**—The writing of the Egyptians consists of three distinct kinds; the *hieroglyphic*, or sacred writing; the *hieratic*, or writing of the priests; and the *demotic*, in common use.

1. **The Hieroglyphic, or sacred monumental writing**, consists in the simultaneous use of three very distinct species of signs. 1st, *Picture signs*, or representations of the objects, which they serve to represent. 2nd, *Symbolical, allegorical, or enigmatical signs*, representing ideas by physical objects. 3rd, *Phonetic characters*, representing sounds by pictures of physical objects.

2. **The Hieratic, or sacerdotal, linear writing**, was a kind of short-hand way of writing the hieroglyphics, and included in some cases arbitrary characters in the place of pictures.

3. **The Demotic, epistolary, or enchorial writing**, was a system quite distinct from the hieroglyphic and the hieratic, and chiefly included simple characters borrowed from the hieratic writing to the exclusion of almost all pictured signs. See the *Précis* of Champollion, as quoted by Heeren.

† **Epaphus** was the Greek name of **Apis**, the sacred bull of Memphis. **Apis** was the offspring of a cow fructified by the moon, and was recognised by being black with a square white spot on its forehead, an eagle figured on its back, double hairs in its tail, and a beetle on its tongue. Its appearance was received by rejoicings, and its mother was never allowed afterwards to conceive. It was first

28,) and must be proved so by certain marks ; and when the priest finds one * pure and without even one black hair, he rolls a piece of byblus round its horns, and puts on it some sealing earth, and stamps it with his signet. To sacrifice one unmarked is death.

Mode of sacrifice.—Having led the victim to the altar, 39 they kindle a fire, pour wine on the altar, invoke the god, slaughter the steer, cut off its head, and skin the carcase. They then pray that whatever evil is to happen to the sacrificers or to Egypt, may fall on the head. If they have a market or Greeks among them, they will there sell the head ; if otherwise, they throw it into the river. No Egyptian will taste the head of any animal. In their 40 most magnificent festivals, after flaying the bullock with prayer, they take out the intestines, leaving the fat and paunch. They then cut off the legs, shoulders, neck, and extremity of the hip, and fill the body with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumes, and burn it with oil. This they perform fasting, beating their breasts throughout the sacrifice, and afterwards feasting on the remnants. Cows are never sacri- 41 ficed, being sacred to Isis,† the Grecian Io, who is depicted with cow's horns. No Egyptian will kiss a Greek, or use their knives, spit, or cauldron, or taste a pure ox divided by a Greek knife.‡

fed with milk for four months, and then carried in a sacred ship to a palace at Memphis, but only allowed to live 25 years, after which, if still alive, it was killed and buried in a well.

* **Red-coloured victims.**—The colour of the pure victim was red brown, because that seems to have been the colour of Typhon, and it is said that anciently men that had red hair were sacrificed at the sepulchre of Osiris.

† **The Egyptian Isis and Greek Io.**—The relation between the Egyptian Isis and the Greek Io was probably this, that Phœnicians in early times had carried to Argos the worship of the moon under the symbol of a heifer, or a woman with heifer's horns. The symbol itself and the name of Io, which is Coptic for the moon, remained ; the origin of it was forgotten, and the invention of the Greek mythologists supplied its place by the legend of an Argive princess, beloved by Zeus, turned by him into a heifer, and driven through Phœnicia into Egypt, where she became the goddess Isis. The name Io was used for the moon, in the dialect of Argos. *Kenrick.*

‡ "Because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews ; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Gen. xliii. 32.

Burial of cattle.—The cows that die are thrown into the river. The bulls are buried in the suburbs with one horn above the earth for a mark, and afterwards disinterred and taken to Atarbechis,* a city in the island Prosopitis, which is in the Delta, and nine schœni [$67\frac{1}{2}$ miles] round. Here they are all buried in one place. Other cattle are buried, and never killed (c. 97).

- 42 **Difference of worship in the Theban and Mendesian Nomes.**—Those Egyptians who belong to the temple of the Theban Zeus, or are of the Theban Nome, refrain from sheep and sacrifice goats only, whilst those who belong to the temple of Mendes, or the Mendesian Nome, refrain from goats (see c. 46) and sacrifice sheep : for the only gods † whom all the Egyptians worship alike, are Isis and Osiris [Dionysus] (see c. 47, 48, *note*). The Thebans abstain from sheep because Zeus once appeared to Heracles in a ram's fleece, after having refused to show himself. Hence the Egyptians make the image of Zeus with a ram's head, and the Ammonians, a colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, do the same. Herodotus thinks that the Ammonians were called after Ammon, the Egyptian for Zeus. Once a year the Thebans slay a ram, and wrap the image of Zeus in the fleece ; and bringing an image of Heracles to it, they beat their breasts in mourning for the ram, and bury it in a holy vault.

- 43 **Antiquity of the Egyptian Heracles.**—Heracles ‡ was

* Atar, or Athor, was the Egyptian Aphrodite, and "baki" is Coptic for town, as Baalbec, the city of the sun.

† **Origin and constitution of the Egyptian Nomes.**—From this statement Heeren conjectures that each nome or district belonged to its own particular temple and college of priests, and was kept distinct from the other nomes by the difference of religion and rites ; so that these nomes being at their origin appended to the temples, and every new settlement of priests constituting one of these nomes, they were originally so many independent states of the priest caste. Thus it may be concluded that the most ancient states of this country were originally settlements of the priest caste, who by accustoming the inhabitants to fixed dwellings and to agriculture, by the introduction of fixed worship, formed according to the locality, and supported by local circumstances, were a political band by which they connected these rude tribes with themselves. See *Heeren's Egyptians*.

‡ **The worship of Heracles** was probably indigenous in Egypt, and was thence borrowed by the Phœnicians, or may have belonged

one of the 12 ancient Egyptian gods, (c 145,) and from him the Greeks must have named the son of Amphitryon and Alcmene, who were both of Egyptian descent. The Egyptians could have borrowed no names from the Greeks, for if they had, as both nations had made voyages, they would have taken those of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, before that of Heracles. The Egyptians say that they accounted Heracles a god 17,000 years before the reign of Amasis, when the number of deities was increased from 8 to 12.

Antiquity of the Phœnician Heracles.—At Tyre, 44 Herodotus saw the temple of Heracles, which the priests said was coeval with the city, and therefore 2300 years old; and it contained a pillar of gold and another of emerald. He also saw there a second temple to the Thasian Heracles. He then went to Thasos, where he found another temple to Heracles built by the Phœnicians, who founded Thasos five generations before Heracles the son of Amphitryon appeared in Greece. These prove that Heracles is an ancient god, and that those Greeks act wisely who sacrifice to the Olympian Heracles as a god; and honour the other as a hero.

Absurd story of the Greek Heracles.—The Greeks 45 say, that when Heracles arrived in Egypt, the people prepared to sacrifice him to Zeus, but, exerting his strength, he slew them all. The Egyptians, however, would not sacrifice men, whilst they are forbidden to offer any animals but swine, bulls, calves, and geese; nor could Heracles, being a man, slay thousands.

Mendesian worship of Pan.—The Mendesiens sacrifice 46 no goats, or bucks, because of Pan, whom they assert to be one of the eight gods who existed prior to the twelve.

from the first to both nations, whose early connexion is unquestionable. By the Phœnicians he was made the tutelary divinity of Tyre, and under the name of Melcartha, the Greek Melicertes, his worship was carried wherever Phœnician colonies were established. The fancy of the Greeks led them to convert the gods of other nations into divinities and heroes, and their national vanity induced them to claim a Greek descent for those foreigners, which descent they subsequently believed themselves. Herodotus however was not so far imposed upon; he could not reconcile the Greek with the Egyptian Heracles, believing the former to be a true historical personage; he therefore supposed that there must have been two.

Like the Greeks, they represent Pan with a goat's face and buck's legs. The Mendesians venerate all goatherds and goats, especially males, and particularly one he-goat, whose death is always mourned throughout the district. In Egyptian, both the goat and Pan are called Mendes.

- 47 **Sacrifice of swine.**—The Egyptians consider pigs unclean, and if they touch one, plunge in the river. Swineherds are excluded from temples, and forced to intermarry amongst themselves. Swine are sacrificed to Dionysus and the moon. Herodotus knows the tradition* relating to the matter, but thinks it more becoming not to mention it.

- Feast of the Moon (Isis) and Dionysus (Osiris).**—The feast† of the moon takes place at full moon, when they slay an animal, and put together the tip of the tail, milt, and caul, and cover them with all the fat from the belly; this is then burnt, and the remainder eaten until the end of the full moon. The poor make pigs of dough,
48 which they bake, and offer for sacrifice. At the feast of Dionysus (Osiris), every one slaughters a pig at evening before his door, which pig is carried off by the swineherd. They then celebrate the festival like the Greeks,

* **Religious traditions not told by Herodotus.**—This tradition, which Herodotus is unwilling to relate, is that Typhon, pursuing a pig at the time of full moon, found a wooden chest containing the body of Osiris, which he tore to pieces. Another story (c. 48) that Herodotus will not divulge is, that when Isis collected the various parts of the body of her husband Osiris, she was unable to find the virile member, which Typhon had thrown into the Nile, where it was devoured by fishes. In its place Isis consecrated the phallus, which was subsequently venerated in the Dionysiac festivals.

† **Osiris (Dionysus)** was god of the Nile, and husband of Isis, goddess of the earth, and called also the mother of the Egyptians. **Orus**, the *sun*, who has been identified with the Greek Apollo, was the son of Osiris and Isis. **Typhon**, the brother of Osiris, rebelled whilst the latter was absent in Ethiopia, and killed him on his return, shut up his body in a chest, and let it float down the Nile. The body of Osiris was thus carried to Byblus in Phœnicia, brought back by Isis, and again seized and cut into pieces by Typhon, who then searched through Europe in the hope of discovering, and putting to death, Orus, the infant heir of Osiris, intrusted by Isis to the care of Leto along with his sister Artemis, or Bubastis, and concealed in the floating island Buto. Orus, being aided by his father Osiris, who had returned to life, defeated Typhon and reigned himself. See also sect. 145, *note*.

but instead of phalli, they have images moved by strings, for which a religious reason is assigned, and which women carry about, singing the praises of Dionysus, and led by a pipe. Melampus first brought this worship from 49 Egypt to Greece, which he chiefly learned from Cadmus the Tyrian. The Egyptian and Greek ceremonies could not have coincided by chance, nor could the Egyptians have borrowed them from the Greeks.

Egyptian origin of Greek deities.—The names of 50 nearly all the Greek gods came from Egypt, except Poseidon, which came from Libya, and the Dioscuri, Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, which came from the Pelasgi. The Egyptians worship no heroes. The Greeks learnt the practice of making 51 Hermes erect, not from the Egyptians, but from the Pelasgi. The Pelasgi were the original inhabitants of the island of Samothrace, but subsequently became neighbours of the Athenians. The latter were the first Greeks who adopted the practice, but the others soon followed their example. The practice itself will be understood by all who have been initiated into the mysteries of the Cabiri,* as celebrated by the Samothracians. Formerly 52 the Pelasgi sacrificed to their gods with prayer, but gave them no names, calling them all *Θεοί*, because they set all things in order. Afterwards they learned the names of Egyptian gods, and lastly that of Dionysus; and these they adopted, with the consent of the oracle at Dodona, the most ancient, and then the only one in Greece. The Greeks received these names from the Pelasgi. The 53 origin, existence, and form of each deity was unknown, till Homer and Hesiod framed the Greek theogony, about 400 years before Herodotus. [B. C. 884.] Other poets, said to be anterior, Herodotus believes to be posterior.

* **The Cabiri** are the most mysterious and perplexing deities of the Greek mythology. According to some, they were four in number, viz. Demeter, Persephone, Hades, and Casmilus, the same with the ithyphallic Hermes. In these mysteries it is manifest Herodotus was initiated. Creuzer observes that by this Hermes ithyphallicus was typified the creative and generative force in all things, especially in the male, opposed to Persephone, the same nature in the female, the one considered to reside in the sun, the other in the moon. See also note on the Cabiri in Kenrick's Appendix.

- 54 **Origin of the Dodonæan and Libyan oracles, 1980.**—The priests of the Theban Zeus told Herodotus that two priestesses were carried from Thebes by certain Phœnicians, who sold one in Libya, the other in Greece, where
- 55 they established oracles. The prophetesses at Dodona say, that two black doves flew from Thebes, one to Libya, and the other to Dodona, and at each place proclaimed in a human voice that an oracle to Zeus should be established there: the priestesses of Dodona, both Promenia the eldest and Timarete and Nicandra the juniors, said the same.
- 56 Herodotus thinks if the Phœnicians really sold the women in Libya and Greece, that the one carried to Greece was sold in Thesprotia, in that part which is now called Hellas, but was formerly named Pelasgia, and that in memory of the temple of Thebes she erected a temple under a green oak, and on learning the language estab-
- 57 lished the oracle. The women were called doves because they chattered in a strange tongue, and saying they were black proved that they were Egyptian. The delivery of the oracles at Dodona and Thebes are similar. Divinations from victims came from Egypt to the Greeks, also
- 58 sacred festivals, processions, and supplications; which is proved by the early adoption of these rites by the Egyptians, and their modern establishment among the Greeks.
- 59 **Egyptian Festivals.**—The Egyptians hold frequent public festivals in honour of the following deities: viz. 1. *Artemis*, at Bubastis, which is the greatest and most rigidly observed. 2. *Isis* [Demeter], at Busiris, in the Delta, where there is her largest temple. 3. *Athene*, at Sais. 4. *The Sun*, at Heliopolis. 5. *Leto*, at Buto. 6. *Ares*, at Papremis.
- 60 **Feast of Artemis.**—To Bubastis the people are conveyed in barges, the women playing on rattles, and the men on flutes, others singing and clapping throughout the voyage, dancing, shouting, and scoffing females of the towns on their way. About 700,000 people congregate at Bubastis, who sacrifice many victims, and consume more wine than in all the rest of the year.
- 61 **Isis (Demeter).**—At Busiris the people beat their breasts, but for whom they mourn it is impious to say. [i. e. the death of Osiris: the mourning was like that for

Thammuz or Adonis, *Ezek.* viii. 13, 14.] The resident Carians cut their faces with knives.

Athene.—At Sais they sacrifice on a certain night, 62 and houses are illuminated throughout Egypt.

Sun, Leto, and Ares.—At Heliopolis and Buto they 63 perform sacrifices only; but at Papremis, in addition to this, a fight takes place at sun-set between the priests and votaries, in commemoration of Ares having with some 64 followers forced his way into his mother's presence, when the attendants of the latter, not knowing him, refused to admit him. The Egyptians and Greeks alone are scrupulous in abstaining from sexual intercourse in sacred places, or entering them unwashed after it.

Veneration for animals.—Egypt, though bordering on 65 Libya, has few animals, but all are sacred; they are fed by hereditary curators, with fish. Votaries shave their own and children's heads, and give the weight of the hair in silver to the curator. To kill a beast wilfully is death, accidentally is finable; but the slayer of an ibis or hawk must be executed.

Cats, &c.—The breed is thinned by the males killing 66 the kittens. At conflagrations they rush into the flames, though watched by the Egyptians. Wherever a cat dies, the family shave their eyebrows; if a dog die, they shave their head and body. All dead cats are embalmed and 67 buried in Bubastis. Dogs and ichneumons are buried in sacred vaults in their own city; field-mice and hawks in Buto; the ibis in Hermopolis; and bears and wolves wherever they are found.

Crocodiles.—The crocodile is four-footed, but amphi- 68 bious, and eats nothing in the four winter months. It lays and hatches its eggs on the land; spends the day on shore, but the night in the river; grows 17 cubits [25½ feet] long, from an egg scarcely larger than a goose's; has pig's eyes, large teeth, projecting tusks, no tongue, an immoveable lower jaw, strong claws, and a scaly skin. It is blind in the water, but quick-sighted on land. All animals avoid it, except the *Trochilus* bird, [supposed to be the Egyptian wren,] who enters its mouth, and swallowing the leeches [i. e. small flies or gnats] there, is never hurt. At Thebes and Lake Mœris it is considered 69

highly sacred, and one is trained and fed on sacred provisions; decked with gold and gems on his ears, paws, etc.; and when dead, embalmed and buried in a sacred vault. At Elephantis it is eaten. The Egyptians call it "champsæ," but the Ionians "crocodile," from its resemblance to a lizard. It is best caught by a hook baited with pork, after being attracted by the cries of a young hog. It is then dragged on shore, and its eyes filled with mud.

- 71 **Hippopotamus.**—This is sacred in Papremis alone; is a quadruped, and has cloven hoofs, a snub nose, horse's mane, projecting tusks, horse's tail and neigh, an ox's size, and a thick hide, of which spear-handles are made.
- 72 **Otter, eel, fox-goose, etc.**—The otter, lepidotus, eel, and fox-goose are sacred to the Nile.
- 73 **Phoenix.**—This is a sacred bird, of which Herodotus only saw a picture representing it like an eagle, with wings golden and red. The Heliopolitans say it comes but once in 500 years, when its father dies, and it brings the body enclosed in myrrh from Arabia to Egypt, and buries it in the temple of the Sun.
- 74 **Horned and winged serpents, and ibis.**—In Thebes there are small serpents which have two horns, and never hurt men, and are sacred to Zeus, and buried in his temple.
- 75 In Arabia, near Buto, Herodotus saw a heap of bones and spines of winged serpents, said to be killed by the ibis whilst trying to enter Egypt. For this the Egyptians
- 76 honour the ibis. The ibis is deep black, with a crane's legs, curved beak, and is the size of the crex. A commoner species have a bald head and neck, and white plumage. The winged serpent is like a water-snake with a bat's wings.
- 77 **Egyptian manners.**—The Egyptians in the corn lands are the best historians. They purge three days a month, take emetics and clysters, and, next to the Libyans, are the healthiest people in the world, which may be caused by their unchanging climate. For bread they eat spelt loaves called cylestis, and drink barley wine. They eat fish raw, sun-dried, and salted; quails, ducks, and smaller birds, raw and salted; but other birds and fishes not
- 78 sacred, boiled or roasted. At their feasts a man carries

round a coffin with the image of a corpse, and showing it to each guest, says, "Look on this, drink and be jovial, for such you must be." They observe ancient usages, 79 and adopt no new ones. They have a song, called in Egyptian, "Maneros," which they say was composed on the death of an only son of their first king, and is the first and only song they have. It is exactly like the song "Linus," sung by the Phœnicians, Cyprians, and Greeks. Like the Lacedæmonians, they honour their elders. They 80 salute by sinking the hand to the knee.

Dress.—They wear a linen garment, fringed, called 81 calasiris, and over that a white woollen mantle; but wear no woollen in the temples, nor use any for shrouds, thinking with the worshippers of Orpheus and Dionysus, who are Egyptians and Pythagoreans, that it is profane. [In southern climes garments of animal materials engender or harbour vermin.]

Sacred days, etc.—Each month and day is sacred to 82 some god, and they determine a man's life, fate, and death, by the day of his birth. They register all prodigies, and if subsequently a similar one happens, they conclude that the same result will ensue.

Divination.—They confine this art to certain gods, and 83 have oracles of Heracles, Apollo, Athene, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, but one of Leto at Buto is most honoured.

Physicians.—All places abound in doctors, but each 84 one confines himself to one disease.

Funerals.—When an important man dies, the females 85 of his house daub their heads and faces with mud, and parade the town exposing and beating their breasts, the men doing the same, and the relatives accompanying them. They then carry the body to be embalmed.

Three modes of Embalming.—Embalmers show the 86 bearers wooden models of three various modes. 1st, *The most expensive* is to draw out part of the brains through the nostrils with an iron hook, and replace them with drugs; then to make an incision with an Ethiopian stone, and take out the bowels, cleanse the abdomen, rinse it with palm wine, and sprinkle it with pounded perfume; fill the belly with pounded myrrh, cassia, and other perfumes except frankincense; steep it in natron

for 70 days ; then wash the corpse, and wrap it in cotton cloth smeared with gum. After which the relations fetch the body, enclose it in a wooden case of a similar form, and set it upright in a sepulchral chamber.

- 87 2nd, *The middle way* is to destroy the bowels by injections of oil up the anus, steep the body in natron as before, let out the oil, and thus, as the natron destroys all the flesh, nothing is preserved but skin and bone. The body is then returned.

- 88 3rd, *The cheapest way* is to rinse the abdomen in syrmæa, and then steep it in natron for 70 days, and return it. [The first method cost an attic talent, or £243 15s., or £81 5s. *Diod. i. 91.*]

- 89 Women of rank and beauty are not intrusted to embalmers till three days after death, lest their bodies be abused, an instance of this having once occurred. All bodies, whether Egyptians or strangers, seized by crocodiles or drowned in the river, must be embalmed in the best manner at the expense of the city near which they are found, and then be buried by the priests of the Nile alone.

- 91 **Games in honour of Perseus.**—The Egyptians avoid all Greek customs, but celebrate gymnastic games in honour of Perseus,* at his temple at Chemmis in Thebais, which is quadrangular, surrounded by palms, and contains his shrine and statue, with two large statues over the stone portico. The Chemmitæ say that Perseus often appears to them, and they sometimes find one of his sandals, two cubits [three feet] long, which gives prosperity to Egypt. They add, that Perseus and his ancestors, Danaus and Lynceus, were natives of Chemmis, and that when Perseus came to Egypt to fetch the Gorgon's head from Libya, he visited Chemmis, acknowledged his kindred, and instituted the games.

- 92 The Egyptians above the marshes keep these customs,

* The worship of Perseus had probably been carried by the Phœnicians from Egypt into Greece, in the same way that they had carried the worship of Io (c. 41) and Heracles (c. 43); for it is incredible and in direct contradiction to the account of Herodotus, that a Greek prince should have been worshipped in one of the ancient cities of Egypt.

and those who inhabit the marshes scarcely differ from them. Like the Greeks, they have but one wife. They eat the flower of the lotus, pounded and baked, together with its root ; also the kernels of a particular lily, the stalk of the byblus [papyrus plant], and dried fish.

Fish.—The fishes swim in shoals to the sea ; the males leading and scattering the milt, and the females following them, and swallowing it, and thus becoming impregnated. The females then return and cast their spawn, which the males follow and devour, and that which escapes engenders the fish. The fish caught on their way out are bruised on the left side of their heads, but on their way back are bruised on the right, which arises from their keeping near the shore to avoid the current. When the Nile swells, the bogs and holes round it are first filled with water, and immediately contain fishes ; this Herodotus thinks is caused by the fish who spawned on the land the preceding year and left with the Nile, whilst their eggs were hatched directly the water again rose.

Oil.—The Egyptians about the fens use an oil extracted from the *cici* [palma Christi], which is equal to olive, only it smells badly.

Musquitoes.—Above the fens, they sleep on high towers to escape mosquitoes, whose flight is prevented by the winds. In the fens, they wrap themselves in fishing-nets, which mosquitoes will not penetrate.

Merchant Ships.—Egyptian merchant ships are made from the acacia, which is cut into planks of two cubits [three feet] long, arranged brick fashion, fastened with pins, and caulked with byblus. They have one rudder driven through the keel, a mast of acacia, and sails of byblus. This vessel is called a “baris.” It is towed up stream, unless it blows strongly, but is drawn down it by a square tamarisk hurdle, wattled with reeds, fastened at the prow, and steadied by a stone fastened to the stern.

Inundation.—During the inundation, the cities appear like the Cyclades, and vessels leave the Nile’s channel, and cross the plain. From Naucratis to Memphis, the passage is then by the pyramids, but the usual route is by the point of the Delta and Cercasorus. In sailing from the sea to Naucratis, you cross the Canopic plain, and

- 98 pass the cities of Anthylla and Archandropolis. Anthylla has been assigned to furnish dues, or shoe-money, for the wife of the king [satrap] of Egypt, since the Persian conquest. Archandropolis derived its name from Archander, son-in-law of Danaus.
- 99 *Hitherto Herodotus has related what he has seen, thought, or learnt, but he now gives the history of the Egyptian kings as he heard it from the priests.*

EGYPTIAN KINGS.

III. God-kings prior to Menes, chap.* 143—146.

- 143 **Piromis at Thebes.**—The priests of Jupiter at Thebes showed Hecataeus,† when he claimed a god for his 16th ancestor, 445 wooden statues of their high priests [Piromis], each of which represented a generation, as every
- 144 high priest was obliged to leave his statue; and they proved to him that he was mistaken in claiming a divine genealogy, as no gods existed during these 445 generations. Herodotus was shown the same, and the priests told him that indeed, before the commencement of these generations, Egypt was ruled by gods; but the last god-king was Orus [Apollo], who deposed Typhon, and was the son of Osiris [Dionysus].
- 145 **Egyptian and Greek accounts of Pan, Heracles, and Dionysus, compared.**—The Egyptians style *Pan* one of the eight primary gods who existed *more than* 17,000 years before Amasis; *Heracles* one of the twelve second-class gods, 17,000 years before Amasis; and *Dionysus* one of the third-class, sprung from the 12, about 15,000 years before Amasis: all which years they say they have registered. The Greeks say that *PAN*, son of *Penelope* and *Hermes*, lived only 800 years before Herodotus; *HERACLES*, son of *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*, 900 years;

* The god-kings are placed here, that all the kings may be in proper chronological order. See *Preface*.

† *Hecataeus* the Milesian historian flourished about B. C. 500. His advice was rejected in the Ionian revolt (v. 36), and by Aristagoras concerning the fortification of Leros (v. 125). Herodotus appears to have sneered at his theory concerning the cause of the inundation of the Nile and the river Oceanus (ii. 23), and that the earth was made round as if from a turner's lathe. See *Dahlmann*, p. 86. For his writings, see *Dr. Smith's Dict.*, art. *Hecataeus*.

and DIONYSUS, son of *Semele*, 1600 years.* If these three deities had lived to an old age in Greece, and been known there, Herodotus would have said, that though mortal men, they were named after the ancient gods. But of Dionysus the Greeks say, that at his birth he was sewn up in Zeus's thigh, and carried to Nyssa, in Ethiopia; and of Pan they say nothing. Herodotus therefore concludes that the Greeks learned their names long after those of the other gods, and date their birth from the time they learned the names. 146

IV. *First line of 330 Kings, from Menes to Mæris, including 18 Ethiopians and one native Queen:—only three mentioned, chap. 99—101.*

Menes, 2235—2173, the first king of Egypt. He threw up a dyke to protect the site of Memphis from the Nile, which is still guarded by the Persians. He also diverted the river, which previously flowed by Libya, into the mid space between Arabia and Libya; built Memphis; dug a lake communicating with the Nile; and built the temple of Hephæstus, or Phtha. 99

Nitocris, 1994—1982, was named like the Babylonian queen (i. 185). The Egyptians slew her brother and placed her on the throne, but she avenged his death, by 100

* **Three classes or dynasties of Egyptian gods.**—The empire of Menes on its first appearance in history possessed an established mythology, i. e. a series of gods, some of whom were genealogically connected, some entirely foreign to each other. According to Herodotus the Egyptian divinities were divided into three distinct orders, and his statements are confirmed by the monumental genealogies. *First class of eight gods*, included, according to the Mendesians, Pan, the god of Chemmis. Leto, the goddess of the floating isle of Buto, and mother of Apollo and Artemis, also belonged to this order. *Second class of twelve gods*, were descended from the preceding eight, and included Heracles. *Third class*, were sprung from the twelve, and included Osiris and Isis, and their son Orus. Among all these deities only Osiris and Isis were worshipped throughout all Egypt. A list of all these gods according to the monuments, and a critical inquiry into their nature, etc., will be found in Bunsen's Egypt. In the time of Herodotus the ancient religion had degenerated into a monstrous and repulsive system of symbols. The Egyptian partiality for the monstrous, when compared with the grandeur of the Holy Scriptures, is very strikingly exhibited in the history of the defeat of Sennacherib, ii. 141.

inviting his murderers to a banquet and opening the Nile upon them. She then stifled herself in a chamber of ashes.

101 **Mœris, 1445—1416**, the last and only other distinguished of the 330 kings. He built the north portal of the temple of Hephæstus; dug a lake (c. 149); and built pyramids. [Mœris lived 900 years before Herodotus, ii. 13.]*

* **Connexion between the history of Egypt by Herodotus, and that by Manetho, etc.**—The Egyptian history of Herodotus is nothing more than a narration connected with public monuments, and on monuments too either in or near Memphis; indeed we may restrict ourselves to the single temple of Hephæstus, or Phtha, the chief in that city. The history commences with Menes, the founder of the temple; it mentions three of his successors who embellished it; it treats those kings as tyrants who made no addition to it; and of those princes who left no monuments, the priests could only give a dry catalogue of names. Hence the line of kings contains many wide chasms. It is also interwoven with allegorical narrations (c. 111, 121, 122). After the accession of Psammitichus (c. 153) we enter upon a definite chronology. Manetho reckons 30 dynasties of Egyptian kings in all, from Menes down to Nectanebos, the last native Egyptian king who lost his throne and life, in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, B. C. 350; about a century after Herodotus wrote. The period prior to the Persian conquest includes the Egyptian history of Herodotus, and 26 of the dynasties of Manetho. It may be called the Pharaonic period, and has been divided by Bunsen into, 1. The old empire of Menes; 2. The middle empire of the Hyksos, or shepherd-kings; 3. The new empire of the 18th dynasty, and downwards.

1. **The old empire of Menes.**—This began with Menes, and succeeded that of the god-kings, and was followed by the Hyksos, or shepherd-kings. Herodotus only mentions three monarchs of this line. It includes 14 of the dynasties of Manetho, but it is impossible to say whether these dynasties should be taken as a series, or whether as contemporaneous families of kings, reigning at the same time at Memphis, Saïs, Xoïs, Thebes, etc.

2. **The middle empire of the Hyksos.**—This includes three dynasties of shepherd-kings, or Hyksos, who extend to the end of the 17th dynasty of Manetho. The Hyksos were a nomad Arab or Assyrian race, who overran Egypt for several centuries. Probably the Pharaoh who received Abraham belonged to this line.

3. **The new empire of the 18th dynasty, and downwards.**—This began with the 18th dynasty, which was the flourishing age of Egyptian art. Its earlier kings were apparently engaged in completing the expulsion of the shepherd-kings, and at length we come to Rameses III., who may be identified with Sesostris. The connexion between Herodotus and the Scripture history will be pointed out in the notes on the forthcoming chapters. It is not improbable, however, that Joseph was prime minister, and that the Israelites were expelled from Egypt under different dynasties of this period.

V. *Second Line of Kings, from Sesostriis to Sethon,*
chap. 102—141.

Sesostriis, 1416—1353, succeeded the 330. He was 102
the first who, sailing from the Arabian Gulf in long
ships, subdued the countries by the Erythræan [Indian
ocean]; but he was at length stopped by shoals and
obliged to return to Egypt. He then levied a large army
and conquered several African and Asiatic nations: in
those which were valiant he built monuments bearing his
name, country, and conquests; but in those which were
cowardly he added the *αἰδοῖα* to the inscription. He then 103
subdued Scythia and Thrace, but stopped there, for no col-
umns are found beyond. At the Phasis a portion of his
army remained, and colonized Colchis. The Colchians 104
are evidently Egyptians: 1st, From their remembrance
of Egypt. 2nd, Their practice of circumcision. (The
Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians are the only nations
who have practised circumcision from the earliest times.
The Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine confess that
they learnt it from the Egyptians, whilst the Syro-Cap-
padocians, with the neighbouring Macrones, acknowledge
that they have but lately adopted it.) 3rd, Their similar 105
manufacture of linen. 4th, Their similar living and 106
language. Most of the pillars of Sesostriis have perished,
but Herodotus saw one in Palestine bearing the emblem
of cowardice, and there are two figures of Sesostriis, 4½
cubits [6¾ feet] high, engraved on Ionian rocks, which
have been mistaken for Memnon. He is represented as
bearing in his right hand a spear, in his left a bow, and
in a costume half Egyptian and half Ethiopian; a line of
sacred Egyptian characters is carved across his breast,
which signify—"I have won this land by my own
shoulders." At a banquet in Pelusian Daphnæ, Sesos- 107
triis and his family were nearly burnt to death by his
brother, but escaped by bridging the flames with two of
his six sons. Having taken revenge, he returned to 108
Egypt; employed his prisoners in conveying huge stones
to the temple of Hephæstus; intersected Egypt with 109
canals; divided his country amongst the Egyptians;

- taxed each allotment, which tax was lowered by commissioners if the land was diminished by the river : from this the Greeks learnt land-surveying, having learnt the use of clocks and sun-dials from the Babylonians. He was the only Egyptian who ruled Ethiopia. He left before the temple of Hephæstus two stone statues of himself and wife, each of 30 cubits [45 feet], and four of his sons, each of 20 cubits [30 feet]. The priest of Hephæstus warned Darius from placing his statue before them, as he had not, like Sesosfris, conquered Scythia.
- 111 **Pheron, 1357—1291**, son of Sesosfris, succeeded. The Nile rose 18 cubits [27 feet], and he was struck blind for hurling a spear into its eddies ; but after ten years he was cured by the urine of a faithful wife, whom he found with difficulty—burning the faithless ones, including his own, but marrying the one who cured him. He gave two stone obelisks, 100 cubits [150 feet] long and 8 [12 feet] broad, each cut from one stone, to the temple of Helios.
- 112 **Proteus, 1291—1237**, a Memphian, succeeded. His shrine is at Memphis, south of the temple of Hephæstus, in the Tyrian camp. Near it is a temple to Aphrodite the stranger, perhaps Helen ; for when Paris carried her from Sparta, he was driven by a storm to Egypt, and his slaves went to the temple of Heracles at the Canopic and accused him to Thonis the governor, who sent them all to the king. Proteus reprimanded Paris, and ordered him to leave the kingdom, keeping Helen and the treasure, till her husband should fetch them. This story was known to Homer, but rejected as unsuited to the Epic. In the exploits of Diomede, he says : “ *Where were the variegated robes, works of Sidonian dames, which Paris brought from Sidon when he carried off Helen.*” (Iliad VI. 289.) Again : “ *The daughter of Zeus had some healing drugs, which Polydamna, wife of Thonis, gave her.*” Odyss., (IV. 227,) Menelaus also says to Telemachus : “ *The gods detained me in Egypt, because I did not offer them perfect hetacombs.*” Homer here shows that he knew of Paris’s sojourn in Egypt ; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom
- 117 Sidon belongs, inhabit Syria. These verses also prove

that he was not the author of the Cypriac verses, which state that Paris reached Troy safely in three days.

Herodotus asked the priests whether the Greek narra- 118
tion of the Trojan war was a fable or not. They replied that Menelaus told them that, upon the rape of Helen, an army of Greeks went to Troy, and demanded her restitution, when the Trojans swore they had neither her, nor the treasures, for they were in Egypt; upon which, the Greeks, thinking themselves derided, took the city. Not finding Helen there, Menelaus went to Egypt, and 119
Helen and the treasures were restored. This he requited by sacrificing two Egyptian children to obtain favourable winds, which being discovered, he was forced to flee to Libya. Herodotus thinks Helen was never at Troy, 120
otherwise Priam would have restored her when his sons fell; and Paris was not even heir to the throne, but Hector, who would equally desire the restitution: but the Trojans could not give her up, and the Greeks would not believe them.

Rhampsinitus, 1237—1182, succeeded. He built the 121
western portico of the temple of Hephæstus, with two statues 25 cubits [$37\frac{1}{2}$ feet] high, of Summer and Winter, before it; the Egyptians worship the Summer statue but ill-treat the Winter.

Story of his Treasury.—This king amassed great wealth and built a treasury, but the architect made one stone removable, and told the secret, on his death-bed, to his two sons. The latter stole the treasures, which the king discovering, caught one by a trap, but his brother cut off his head and escaped. The king, not recognising the body, hung it up, and set sentinels to seize any one who wept whilst passing it by. The mother persuaded the surviving son to regain it, which he did, by spilling wine, and making the sentinels drunk: he also shaved them in derision. Rhampsinitus then placed his daughter in a brothel, with orders to ask all who came to tell her the most daring acts of their lives. The living thief went to her with the arm of a fresh corpse, and told his story, and, upon her seizing him, escaped by leaving the dead arm in her hands. The king was so astonished,

that he offered a pardon; and the thief, making himself known, afterwards married the daughter.*

- 122 **Feast of Demeter.**—Rhampsinitus descended into Hades, and played at dice with Demeter, which gave rise to a festival, in which a priest is led blindfold to the road to Demeter's temple, and two wolves are said to conduct him
- 123 to the temple and back again. Those who can believe such tales are at liberty to adopt what the Egyptians relate; but Herodotus confines himself to reporting what he is told. The Egyptians say that Demeter and Dionysus [Isis and Osiris] rule the infernal regions, and that the soul is immortal, but endures transmigration for 3000 years. This doctrine of the metempsychosis has been adopted by many Greeks as their own invention, but
- 124 Herodotus will not mention their names. During the reign of Rhampsinitus Egypt prospered.

- Cheops, 1182—1132, succeeded.** He shut the temples and made all Egyptians work (100,000 at a time, who were relieved every three months) at hewing stones in the Arabian mountain, dragging them to the Nile, and thence to the Libyan mountain. Ten years were spent in a polished carved road, for drawing the stones on, five stadia [nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile] long, 40 cubits [60 feet] wide, and 32 cubits [48 feet] high; and in constructing his own burial vaults in the hill on which the pyramids stand, which is an island formed by a canal from the Nile. The pyramid took 20 years. It is quadrangular; each front eight plethra [800 feet] high, and eight plethra [800 feet] wide at the base, and made of polished stones,
- 125 none less than 30 feet, nicely joined. Its ascent is by steps or altars, with a machine of short pieces of wood on every range, which gradually elevated the stones to the summit, which was the first finished off. On it was inscribed the cost of radishes, onions, and garlick for the
- 126 workmen, viz. 1600 silver talents [£384,000]. Cheops placed his daughter in a brothel, where she raised a sum, and also built a pyramid, $1\frac{1}{2}$ plethra [150 feet] high, in the middle of the three, before the great pyramid, by

* This story is repeated, with some variations, in the old romance of the *Seven Wise Masters*. See *Ellis's Early Metrical Romances*.

asking each of her lovers to bring a stone. Cheops reigned 50 years.

Chephren, 1132—1076, brother of Cheops, succeeded. 127
He built a pyramid 40 feet lower than Cheops, and without vaults or canal. The first course was of variegated Ethiopian stones. Both pyramids stand on a hill 100 feet high. Chephren reigned 56 years. Thus for 106 128 years the temples were unopened. Both princes were detested by the Egyptians, who call the pyramids Philition, after a shepherd.

Mycerinus, 1076—1056, son of Cheops, succeeded. 129
He restored the people's privileges, re-opened the temples, and judged justly. His daughter died, and he placed her in a wooden cow, covered with gold, which was not 130 buried, but exposed in a chamber in the royal palace at Sais. Round it are 20 wooden statues, naked, by the priests of Sais, said to be the king's concubines. He is 131 reported to have debauched this daughter, who then strangled herself; and her mother cut off the hands of the servants who betrayed her. The 20 wooden figures, which have suffered similar losses, are said to be their statues; but Herodotus saw the hands lying at their feet, having dropped off from age. The cow's head and neck 132 is covered with thick gold, with a golden sun between the horns; in other parts it is wrapped in a purple cloth. Every year it is carried out when the Egyptians beat their bosoms for a deity that must not be mentioned [Osiris]; for the princess on her death-bed requested her father to let her see the sun once a year. Afterwards the oracle 133 of Buto declared that Mycerinus must die in six years, upon which he upbraided it for suffering Cheops and Chephren, two bad kings, to reign 106 years; but he was told that Egypt was fated to suffer for 150 years, and he must die. Mycerinus spent the rest of his life, night and day, in pleasure, that he might falsify the prophecy by thus living 12 years instead of six. He left a pyramid 134 smaller than Chephren's, being 20 feet less than three plethra [or about 280 feet] on each side. It is square, and half way up of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks think it was built by Rhodopis; but, 1st, she had not enough money; and, 2nd, was contemporary with Amasis. She

- was born in Thrace; was a fellow slave with *Æsop* in the service of *Iadmon*, and was brought to Egypt by *Xanthus* to gain money by her person, but ransomed by *Charaxus*, brother of *Sappho*, who attacked him in a poem. *Rhodopis* became famous, and amassed much wealth; she gave a 10th of it to *Delphi*, for iron spits. The harlots of *Naucratis* are very beautiful; and subsequently *Archidice* became celebrated throughout all Greece, but was not so famous as *Rhodopis*. [The three pyramids here mentioned of *Cheops*, *Chephren*, and *Mycerinus*, are the great pyramids of *Ghizeli*].
- 136 **Asychis, 1056—1006**, succeeded. He built the eastern and best porch of the temple of *Hephæstus*; instituted the pledging of embalmed bodies of men's fathers, defaulters and their posterity being denied burial; and built a pyramid of bricks, made from mud drawn from the lake.
- 137 **Anysis, 1006—1004**, succeeded. He was blind and fled to the marshes [in the Delta] before *Sabacón*, king of Ethiopia.*

[Chasm of 250 years.—A gap of about 250 years here occurs in the history. Herodotus states (c. 140) that 500, or, according to another reading, 700 years occurred between the time of *Anysis* and *Sabacón*, and that of

* **History of Ethiopia.**—Ethiopia Proper appears to answer to the country called by the ancients the island of *Meroe*, and by the moderns *Sennaar* and *Atbar*. It is a large triangle formed by the Nile on the west, the *Tacazze*, a tributary of the Nile, on the east, and the highlands of *Abyssinia* on the south. The desert of *Nubia* divides it from Egypt, with whom however it lay in all periods in a very intimate connexion. According to Herodotus (c. 99) the first line of kings included 18 Ethiopian monarchs; at the present period it seems that *Sabacón*, king of Ethiopia, invaded Egypt and established his supremacy over the whole country, whilst *Anysis* was compelled to fly to the inaccessible marshes of the Delta. *Sabacón* appears to have been used however by Herodotus as the name for an Ethiopian dynasty, including not only *Sabacón* himself, but also *Sebichus*, the *So* or *Seva* of the Scriptures, and *Tirhakah*, the *Tarcus* or *Tarcus* of *Manetho*. *Sebichus* or *So*, the son and successor of *Sabacón*, allied with *Hoshea* king of *Israel*, but did not prevent his captivity. He was succeeded by *Tirhakah*, who appears however only to have ruled over Upper Egypt, whilst *Sethon* reigned at *Memphis*. *Tirhakah* and *Sethon* seem to have been closely allied, and the latter appears to have been kept on the throne entirely by Ethiopian influence.

Amyrtæus, who reigned B. C. 450. This would make the date of Anysis's return about B. C. 950. But then Herodotus says (c. 152) that Sabacon killed the father of Psammitichus, an event which certainly must have taken place subsequent to B. C. 700, as the date of Psammitichus is B. C. 650.]

Ethiopian supremacy. Sabacon, 765—715, instead of death obliged culprits to raise mounds round their native cities, which had been already elevated to some height by the prisoners of Sesostris. That of Bubastis, the city of Artemis, is the highest. It has a temple, which, except a road to it, stands on an island formed by two canals from the Nile, each 100 feet broad. The portico is 10 orgyæ [60 feet] high, with figures of six cubits [nine feet]. A sculptured wall surrounds the precinct; within it is a grove growing round a temple containing the image. The width and length of the precinct is a stadium [200 yards] each way. Along the entrance is a causeway three stadia [1800 feet] long, and four plethra [400 feet] broad, between trees. It leads to the temple of Hermes. Sabacon saw a vision desiring him to cut in two all the Egyptian priests, and thought it was only to tempt him to bring upon himself the vengeance of the gods. He left Egypt, after reigning 50 years, as the Ethiopian oracle had foretold. Anysis regained his crown, after living for 50 years in the island Elbo, made with ashes, which the Egyptians had been ordered to bring to him, together with provisions, unknown to the Ethiopian tyrants. Elbo was lost for 700 years, [or 500, according to another reading,] but found again by Amyrtæus, B. C. 450 (iii. 15). 138 139 140

Sethon, 715—671, a priest of Hephæstus or Phtha, succeeded. He neglected the military caste, and confiscated the 12* aruras of land which each possessed under former kings (c. 168). Sennacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked him, and the military refused to assist him; upon which he wept in the temple, and his god appeared and cheered him. He then raised an army of the working classes, and encamped at Pelusium, the entrance to Egypt; 141

* **Arura** being a square of 50 yards, its contents would be 2500 yards. Our statute acre contains 4840 yards.

and at night multitudes of field-mice ate up the bow-strings, quivers, and shield-handles of the invaders, who were thus easily defeated. A stone image of Sethon with a mouse stands in the temple of Hephæstus.*

- 142 From Menes to Sethon were 341 generations, equal to about 11,340 years, [reckoning 300 generations as equal to 10,000 years,] during which period no god assumed man's form, and the sun had four times changed its course, rising twice where he now sets, and setting twice where he now rises. (*For c. 143—146, see page 68.*)

VI. *Third line: from the 12 kings to Amasis, chap. 147—181.*

- 147 **The Dodecarchy, or government of 12 kings, 671.—**After Sethon's reign the Egyptians became free, but chose 12 kings, who divided the country, but swore to live friendly, and intermarried, for an oracle had foretold, that whoever offered a libation from a brazen vessel in the temple of Hephæstus should be sole king.

* **Connexion between the Old Testament accounts and those of Herodotus.**—Sethon reigned at Memphis, or Northern Egypt, but appears to have been supported on the throne by the power of Tirhakah, the last of the Ethiopian dynasty of Sabacon, and king of Thebais or Southern Egypt, as well as of Ethiopia. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, projected the conquest of Egypt, but first marched to the subjugation of Hezekiah, king of Judah, who sent to Sethon for assistance in confronting their common enemy. Sethon was involved in disputes with his army, but probably sent despatches to Tirhakah, who immediately set off with a large army to repel Sennacherib. According to holy writ, the Assyrian king was at this time besieging Libnah, one of the fenced cities in Judah, but hearing that Tirhakah was on his march, he sent a boastful letter to Hezekiah, and prepared to meet his new opponent; but the next night his whole army was destroyed by the angel of Jehovah, and his own assassination, and the revolt of the Medes occurred soon after. *Comp. i. 95, note.* Herodotus says that Sennacherib was encamped at Pelusium at the time his army was destroyed, and that the destruction was occasioned by field-mice, who ate up the bowstrings, etc., of the invaders. In the first statement he may have been easily mistaken; in the second he was probably misled by the sculptured mouse in the hand of the stone image of Sethon, for a mouse is the symbol in Egyptian hieroglyphics for destruction and slaughter.

The Labyrinth.—These 12 kings built a Labyrinth 148 above Lake Mœris, and near the city of the Crocodiles, which was superior to all Greek buildings put together, and even surpassed the pyramids. It consisted of 12 courts enclosed with piazzas, with doors opposite to each other, six facing the north, and six the south. It contained 3000 chambers, half above ground, and half under, with winding passages through the piazzas and across the courts. Herodotus saw the chambers above ground, but not those under, which are said to contain relics of the 12 kings and sacred crocodiles. Round every court is a colonnade of white stones, and at the extremity of the Labyrinth there is a pyramid 40 orgyæ [240 feet] high, on which gigantic figures are carved.

Lake Mœris.—Near the Labyrinth is Lake Mœris, 149 3600 stadia or 60 schoeni [450 miles] round, and 40 orgyæ [240 feet] deep at the deepest. In the centre are two pyramids, 50 orgyæ [300 feet] above the water and 50 [300 feet] below it, each bearing a stone colossus on a throne. These pyramids are therefore 100 orgyæ [600 feet] high altogether, which is exactly equal to one stadium of six plethra. The orgyæ measures six feet or four cubits, the cubit measures six palms, and the foot four palms. The waters of this lake flow for six months from the Nile to the lake, and six months from the lake to the Nile. Whilst the stream is flowing out, the fish from the lake bring in one silver talent [£243 15s.] daily to the royal exchequer, but at other times only 20 minas [about £81]. The lake is said to fall through a 150 tunnel into the Libyan Syrtis, and in digging it the soil was thrown into the Nile.* Herodotus believes this, because some thieves at Nineveh did the same—undermining the treasury of Sardanapalus and throwing the soil into the Tigris.

Banishment of Psammitichus.—The 12 kings go- 151 verned justly. One day whilst offering libations in the

* **Lake Mœris** was an immense reservoir, dug to preserve Lower Egypt from the effects of too great inundations of the Nile. As the country became gradually elevated by the deposits of the Nile, the lake became of less use, and in the end became filled up by the same deposits. It is impossible therefore to discover its site.

temple of Hephæstus only 11 golden bowls were brought, and Psammitichus doffed his brazen helmet for the libation (c. 147); upon this the others banished him to the marshes. He had previously fled to Syria when Sabacon killed his father, Necos, and after the retirement of Sabacon, had been brought back by the Egyptians of the Saitic nome. Meditating revenge, he now sent to the oracle of Leto at Buto, who answered, that vengeance should come when brazen men rose from the sea. Ionians and Carians afterwards landed in Egypt in brazen armour, when Psammitichus allied with them, and dethroned the 11 kings.

153 **Psammitichus king, sole king, 650—617.**—He built the southern porch to the temple of Hephæstus at Memphis, with a court for Apis (c. 38, *note*) opposite, surrounded by a sculptured piazza, supported by statues, 12

154 cubits [18 feet] high. He rewarded the Ionians and Carians, who were the first foreign settlers in Egypt, with land on the Pelusian mouth. He also intrusted them with certain Egyptian youths to be taught Greek, and these were the ancestors of the later interpreters. Subsequently Amasis removed these aliens to Memphis for his body-guard, and as they kept up a close communication with Greece, Egyptian history is well known after the reign of Psammitichus.*

155 **Oracle of Leto.**—The oracle of Leto is in Buto, a large city near the Sebennyitic mouth, also containing temples of Apollo and Artemis. The temple of Leto has a portico, 10 orgyæ [60 feet] high. It is hewn from one stone of equal sides, each measuring 40 cubits [60 feet]. The roof is a flat stone which projects 4 cubits [6 feet] beyond the walls.

156 **Floating isle of Chemmis.**—Near this is Chemmis, said to have been made a floating island by Leto, one of the eight primary deities, though it had been previously

* **Chronology of Herodotus commences with Psammitichus.**—The chronology of Herodotus, in the proper sense of the word, begins with Psammitichus. For the previous period he possessed no expedient by which the discrepancy between the Egyptian computation and his own series of dynasties could be reconciled. These two systems differ by about ten thousand years. *Bunsen*. Compare also ii. 99, *note*.

fixed. When Leto received Apollo [Orus] from Isis, she hid him there from Typhon, who was searching for him (see c. 47, *note*); for the Egyptians say that Apollo and Artemis were the offspring of Dionysus [Osiris] and Isis, and that Leto was their nurse and preserver. Orus is Egyptian for Apollo; Isis, for Demeter; and Bubastis, for Artemis. In Chemmis is a temple to Apollo containing three altars and many palms.

Psammitichus reigned 54 years, through 29 of which he 157
was besieging Azotus, in Syria, [one of the five Philistine towns,] and at last captured it.

Necos, 617—601, his son, succeeded. He began the 158
canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, round the Memphian mountains, which Darius continued. It is four days' voyage long, holds two triremes abreast, and is filled by the Nile. It begins above Bubastis, and ends near Patumos: 110,000 Egyptians perished at the work, when Necos was stopped by an oracle, warning him that he was working for an alien. The shortest way from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf is from Mount Casius, which is only 1000 stadia [125 miles]; but the canal is more winding. Necos having stopped his ex- 159
cavations built a fleet of triremes on the coasts of the Mediterranean and Red Sea. He then defeated the Syrians [Jews] by land near Magdolus, [Megiddo,]* and took Cadytis [Gaza].† His battle garb he consecrated

* **Magdolus and Megiddo.**—Herodotus has here confused Megiddo, the plain or valley at the foot of Mount Carmel, where Josiah was defeated and slain by Necos, with Magdolus or Migdol in Lower Egypt, 12 miles east of Pelusium. Herodotus seems never to have penetrated Palestine, or he would have left some notice of so peculiar a nation as the Jews.

† **Cadytis.**—This has been generally identified with Jerusalem, an opinion successfully combated by Mr. Ewing, in the Classical Museum, who was however not quite so fortunate in substituting Kedesh in Galilee as the Cadytis of Herodotus, for Phœnicia stretches southward some distance beyond Kedesh, and Cadytis must be looked for south of Phœnicia (iii. 5). The 47th chapter of Jeremiah prophetically describes the desolation by Pharaoh of the land of the Philistines; and, further, expressly alludes to the capture and destruction of *Gaza* by the same king. The name of the Philistine city of Gaza, as given in the Assyrian inscriptions discovered by Mr. Layard, and interpreted by Colonel Rawlinson, is *Khasita*, which was probably changed by the Greeks into Cadytis, for the de-

to Apollo, sending it to Branchidæ, in Milesia, and died after reigning 16 years.

- 160 **Psammis, 601—595**, his son, succeeded. A deputation from Elis boasted the impossibility of improving their regulations of the Olympic games, when the wisest Egyptians advised them to suffer no Eleans to contend, otherwise an unjust partiality would be extended towards them. Psammis reigned six years, invaded Ethiopia, and died.

- 161 **Apries, 595—570**, son of Psammis, succeeded. He was most prosperous for 25 years, during which he marched against Sidon, and engaged the Tyrians at sea, but at length met with a calamity which Herodotus will describe more largely in his Libyan history (iv. 159). Apries was defeated by the Cyrenæans [of the Greek colony of Cyrene in Libya]; and his army revolted, thinking that he had suffered them to be defeated; and Amasis, being sent to appease them, was made king in his stead. Apries then despatched Patarbemis to bring Amasis, but the latter scoffed, and replied that he would come and bring others with him. Patarbemis on his return had his ears and nose cut off by Apries, upon which the rest of the Egyptians revolted to Amasis. Apries 162 then armed 30,000 Ionians and Carians, and met Amasis 163 near Momemphis.*

scription given by Herodotus (iii. 5) is exactly applicable to Gaza, and will by no means answer to Jerusalem.

* **Contemporary history of Egypt as derived from the Old Testament.**—Whilst Egypt was thus consolidating its strength, the great Assyrian power was crippled by the revolt of Media and Babylonia, and exhausting herself in vain endeavours to regain her ancient supremacy. Necos seems to have chosen this critical period for invading her empire. His march was directed to Carchemish, an important post on the Euphrates; and he accordingly followed the usual route along the sea-coast of Palestine, northward. Meantime, whilst Israel had been carried into captivity by Assyria, Josiah, who was reigning over the kingdom of Judah, heard of the expedition. He had probably been permitted to retain his own kingdom of Judah on condition of defending the Assyrian frontier against Egypt; and accordingly he now posted his forces in the plain of Esdraelon, or Jezreel, to intercept Necos. The latter sent messengers to advise him to desist from interfering, but in vain. A battle ensued, and Josiah, who went out in disguise, was slain by the archers in the valley of Megiddo. "And Jeremiah lamented for

Egyptian castes.—There are seven Egyptian castes; 164
1. PRIESTS, 2. SOLDIERS, 3. SHEPHERDS, 4. SWINE-
HERDS, 5. TRADESMEN, 6. INTERPRETERS, 7. PILOTS.

Military castes.—The Egyptian military were of two 165
kinds, the Hermotybes and Calasires, neither of whom
ever applied to trade or handicraft, but were all hereditarily devoted to military pursuits.

1st, *The Hermotybes*, or warriors, [i. e. the veterans who remained at home for the defence of their country,] amounted at the most to 160,000, and inhabited the following nomes, viz. Busirites, Saïtes, Chemmites, Papremites, the island of Prosopites, and half Natho.

2nd, *The Calasires*, or youths, [i. e. such as were fit

Josiah; all the singing-men and singing-women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day." Josiah was succeeded on the throne of Judah by his son Jehoahaz, or Shallum (B. C. 610). Meantime Necos pursued his course to the Euphrates, and after three months returned victorious, having captured Carchemish and defeated the Assyrians. He now appears to have acted as lord paramount of Judah. He put Jehoahaz in bands at Riblah in Hamath in Syria, and condemned the land to pay in tribute 100 talents of silver, and one talent of gold. He then went to Jerusalem and placed Eliakim, another son of Josiah, on the throne, in the room of Jehoahaz, and changed his name to Jehoiakim; and afterwards returned to Egypt, carrying Jehoahaz with him as a hostage. During the first three years of Jehoiakim's reign, Necos continued to push his conquests eastward to the border of the Euphrates, until his progress was stopped by the newly risen Chaldee-Babylonian power, which at this period had established its independence under Nabopolassar. This general was however fast declining in health, and had confided his army to his son NEBUCHADNEZZAR, who obtained a decisive victory over Necos at Carchemish, where the latter had formerly been so successful against Assyria. The death of Nabopolassar however suddenly recalled Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, but as soon as the young prince had secured himself on his father's throne he resumed the aggressive, and within a year of his victory at Carchemish had swept off every vestige of Egyptian power in Syria, and presented his irresistible armies on the eastern side of Palestine, which he quickly reduced to his dominion. Psammis, the successor of Necos, is not named in Scripture; but Apries, under the name of Pharaoh-Hophra, is mentioned as having made himself master of Phœnicia and part of Palestine, and regained much of that influence in Syria which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from Egypt. He allied with Zedekiah, the new king of Judah, and marched to his assistance, but the approach of Nebuchadnezzar with a large army induced him to return.

- for active service abroad,] numbered at the most
 166 250,000, and occupied these nomes, viz. Thebais, Bubastites, Aphthites, Tanites, Mendesium, Sebennytus, Athribites, Pharbæthites, Thmuites, Onuphites, Anysius,
 167 and Myecphorites, which is in an island near Bubastis.

- Herodotus cannot decide whether the Greeks borrowed the custom of disliking trade from the Egyptians, for the Thracians, Scythians, Persians, Lydians, and nearly all barbarians look upon war as most noble; and the Greeks, especially the Lacedæmonians, but except the Corinthians,
 168 ans, all hate trade and love war. In Egypt the military are the only class with special privileges, except the priests; each man has 12 chosen aruras (c. 141, *note*) of land, free from tribute. 1000 Calasires and 1000 Hermotybies are appointed body-guards to the king every year, when each man receives, besides the land, five minæ [about 5 lbs.] of roasted corn, two minæ of beef [2 lbs.], and four arysters [about a quart] of wine, daily.

- 169 **Defeat and death of Apries.**—Apries was defeated near Momemphis, for his auxiliaries were inferior in numbers, though they fought well. He was taken to his own royal palace at Sais, now belonging to Amasis, and at first treated kindly, but afterwards, at the instigation of the Egyptians, he was strangled, and buried in his ancestral sepulchre, in the precinct of Athene, near the temple.

- 170 The Saitæ bury all kings born in their nome within this precinct. The monument of Amasis is there, but at a greater distance from the temple than that of Apries, though even this is in the court of the precinct. It consists of a stone chamber, adorned with columns like palm trees, within which are folding doors, and the sepulchre within the doors. Behind the chapel is the tomb of one
 171 whose name Herodotus will not divulge [Osiris]. Stone obelisks stand in the precinct, near which is a circular lake with a facing of stone-work about the same size as that at Delos. On this lake the Egyptians perform the mysteries [of Osiris], which Herodotus also keeps secret, together with those of Demeter, called the Thesmophoria by the Greeks. These mysteries were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaus, and communicated to the Pelasgian women [B. C. 1570]. Subsequently, when

the Dorians took the Peloponnesus, they were preserved by the Arcadians only.

Amasis, 570, succeeded. He was a native of Siuph 172 in the Saitic nome. He won over the Egyptians, who despised his private birth, by letting them worship a golden image made from his foot-basin, and then telling them, that having risen from a private man to be king, he had undergone the same changes as the foot-basin. He passed the morning in business, and the afternoon 173 and evening in joking and drinking, and defended his conduct on the excuse of requiring relaxation. Before 174 he was king he would jest and drink, and thieve for the means, and his victims would consult the oracles. He then worshipped those oracles who convicted him, but neglected the others as false gods.

He built a portico to the temple of Athene at Sais, and 175 dedicated colossi and sphinxes, and brought large stone blocks from the Memphian quarries and Elephantis, which is 20 days' voyage from Sais. One was a chamber 21 cubits [$31\frac{1}{2}$ feet] long, 14 cubits [21 feet] broad, and eight cubits [12 feet] high on the outside; in the inside it was 18 cubits [27 feet] long, 12 cubits [18 feet] broad, and 5 cubits [$7\frac{1}{2}$ feet] high. It was all hewn from one block, which 2000 men were three years conveying. It lies at the entrance of the precinct, where the architect sighed from weariness, and Amasis would not suffer it to be drawn farther: some say it remains there because it crushed a labourer. At the temple of Hephæstus in 176 Memphis Amasis dedicated a stone colossus, 75 feet long; two of Ethiopian stone, each 20 feet high; and a similar one at Sais. He also built a temple to Isis, at Memphis.

Under Amasis Egypt was most prosperous, and had 177 20,000 cities. Amasis obliged every man, yearly, on pain of death, to state to the governor of his district how he got his living, and if it was a dishonest one he was executed. Solon afterwards instituted this law at Athens.

His kindness to the Greeks.—Amasis was fond of the 178 Greeks, and gave them Naucratis for a residence, and to those who wished only to trade and not to settle he gave places for altars and temples. The most renowned of these precincts was the Hellenium, which was erected

- at the cost of the following states, viz. 1st, *Ionians*: Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ. 2nd, *Dorians*: Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis. 3rd, *Æolians*: Mytilinæans. The *Æginetæ* have also erected a temple to Zeus for themselves; the Samians have done the same to
- 179 Hera; and the Milesians to Apollo. Originally Nau-
cratis was the only place for merchants, and no mer-
180 chandise was allowed to be imported elsewhere. Amasis
also gave 1000 talents [25 tons] of alum to the Amphyc-
tions, who had ordered 300 talents to be spent in rebuild-
ing the Delphic temple, which was burnt (B. C. 548):
- 181 the Greeks in Egypt gave 20 minæ [£80]. Amasis
also leagued with the Greek colony of Cyrene in Libya,
and espoused Ladice, a Greek woman, but was unable
to consummate the marriage till she promised to send an
image of Aphrodite to Cyrene, after which he loved her
increasingly. Cambyzes, when he conquered Egypt, sent
Ladice back unhurt to Cyrene. Amasis also dedicated a
gilt statue of Athene at Cyrene, with his own portrait
painted; two stone statues and a linen corselet to Athene
at Lindus, because the daughters of Danaus had founded
the temple there on their flight from the sons of *Ægyptus*;
and two wooden images of himself to Hera, at Samos;
from his friendship with Polycrates (comp. iii. 39—47,
54—56, 120—125). He was the first who conquered
Cyprus and made it tributary.

BOOK III. THALIA.

HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE, FROM THE ACCESSION OF CAMBYSES
TO THE TAKING OF BABYLON BY DARIUS, B. C. 530 TO B. C. 516.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Expeditions of Cambyses, 530—523.*

War with Egypt.—Persian and Egyptian accounts of its origin.—Desertion of Phanes to Cambyses.—Road through Phœnicia and the Arabian ports in Palestine into Egypt.—Cambyses interchanges pledges with the Arabians.—Amasis dead; Psammenitus awaits Cambyses, 525.—Egyptians routed.—Egyptian and Persian skulls.—Memphis taken.—Surrender of Cyrenæans, Barcæans, and neighbouring Libyans.—Psammenitus insulted: revolts and is slain.—Cambyses insults the corpse of Amasis.—Contemplates war with the Carthaginians, Ammonians, and Ethiopians.—Phœnicians refuse to attack Carthage.—Ichthyophagi spy Ethiopia.—Failure of the Ethiopian and Ammonian expeditions.—Cambyses insults Apis.—His madness: kills Smerdis: slays his sister: other excesses. [Death of Cambyses, see c. 66.] Chap. 1—38.

II. (*Digress.*) *Tyranny of Polycrates.*

Polycrates, tyrant of Samos.—Allies with Amasis.—Sends seditious Samians to Cambyses.—Insurgents joined by the Lacedæmonians and Corinthians.—Enmity between the Corinthians and Corcyræans.—Lacedæmonians besiege Samos.—Migrations of the insurgent Samians.—Samiian works.—[Death of Polycrates, see c. 120—125.] Chap. 39—60.

III. *Unrumpation of Smerdis Magus, and Accession of Darius.*

Revolt of the Magi, 523.—Death of Cambyses.—Smerdis Magus king.—His imposture discovered.—Conspiracy of the Seven.—Prexaspes confesses the fraud.—Death of the Magi.—Discussion upon the three forms of government, viz. democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy.—Choice of a king.—Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persian empire.—Division of the empire into Satrapies.—Its geographical extent.—The Twenty Satrapies geographically arranged.—Total revenue. Chap. 61—97.

IV. (*Digress.*) *Indians, Arabians, Ethiopians, etc.*

Southern independent Indians: their manners, customs, climate, etc.—Northern tributary Indians: their way of getting gold, etc.—Wonderful products of the earth's extremities.—India: its large animals and cotton trees.—Arabia: its incense, winged serpents, cassia, cinnamon, and leda-

num.—Ethiopia: its gold, huge elephants, long rivers, etc.—Europe: the Eridanus, Cassiterides, and one-eyed Arimaspi.—Account of the river Aces. Chap. 98—117.

V. Reign of Darius to the taking of Babylon.

Death of Intaphernes.—Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, treacherously crucified by Orctes, Persian governor of Sardis.—Orctes killed by Darius, 522.—Darius's ankle cured by Democedes.—Account of Democedes.—His condition at Susa.—Darius sends him with spies to Greece.—Adventures of the 15 spies.—Samos taken.—Story of Solyson, brother of Polycrates.—Mæandrius, successor of Polycrates in the tyranny of Samos.—Mæandrius surrenders to Otanes.—Massacre of the Samians.—Babylonian revolt.—Babylon taken by Zopyrus, 516.—Zopyrus honoured.

Chap. 118—160.

SUMMARY.

I. Expeditions of Cambyses, 530—523, chap. 1—38.

- 1

CENTRAL ASIA. — Persia.	War with Egypt; Persian account of its origin. —Cambyses, son of Cyrus, prepared to invade Egypt with Ionians and Æolians as well as Persians (ii. 1) from the following motive. An Egyptian physician had been torn from home by Amasis and sent to Cyrus to cure his eyes, and in revenge had advised Cambyses to ask for the daughter of Amasis. Knowing that Cambyses only wanted her as concubine, Amasis sent him Nitetis, the only daughter of Apries, instead; who then prompted Cambyses to the invasion, by acquainting him with the deception, and the murder of her father Apries (ii. 169).
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- 2 **Egyptian account.**—The Egyptians pervert history, saying that it was Cyrus who asked for the daughter of Amasis, and that Cambyses was her son; but, 1st, a bastard could not reign in Persia, and, 2nd, Cambyses was
- 3 the son of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes. It is also incorrectly said, that Cambyses, when only ten years old, heard Cassandane complain of being slighted by Cyrus for Nitetis, and swore to turn Egypt upside down.
- 4 **Desertion of Phanes to Cambyses.**—Phanes, a Hali-carnassian mercenary, disgusted with Amasis, deserted

to Cambyes, but being a wise and experienced officer, Amasis sent a eunuch after him. Phanes was taken in Lycia, but escaped by making his guards drunk, and reached Cambyes just as the latter was doubting how to cross the arid desert. Phanes advised him to request a safe passage from the king of the Arabians.

Road through Phœnicia and the Arabian ports in 5 Palestine into Egypt.—The following is the only practicable entrance to Egypt, viz. from Phœnicia [which stretches below Mount Carmel] to Cadytis, [Gaza, ii. 159, *note*,] which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, and is not much less than Sardis. From Cadytis, along the coast, whose ports belong to the Arabians, to Jenysus; from Jenysus, again along the coast which belongs to the Syrians, to Lake Serbonis, where Typhon is concealed, and Egypt begins, and near which Mount Casius stretches to the sea: this road is a three days' journey, and utterly destitute of water. After the Persians had conquered Egypt, they supplied this country with water by sending constant supplies from Memphis: for earthen jars of wine 6 are imported from Greece and Phœnicia twice a year into Egypt, after which the governor of every Egyptian nome collects all the jars in his own city and sends them to Memphis, from whence they are forwarded filled with water to these dry regions.

Cambyes interchanges pledges with the 7 Arabians.—Cambyes now obtained a safe Arabia Petrea. passage from the Arabian king, and interchanged pledges.

The Arabians religiously observe pledges. When two 8 parties plight their faith, a third cuts each of their palms with a sharp stone, and smears the blood on seven other stones between them, with a shred from their garments, at the same time invoking Dionysus, whom they call Orotal, and Urania, whom they call Alilat [i. e. the sun and moon]. He who pledges, binds his friends as sureties, who are obliged to observe the compact. Dionysus and Urania are their only deities. They cut their hair like Dionysus, viz. in a circular form, shaven round the temples.

The Arabian prince having exchanged pledges with 9 the ambassadors of Cambyes, loaded all his camels with skins of water, and awaited the Persian army in the de-

sert. Others say he conveyed the water by three pipes of ox-hides from the river Corys into three reservoirs in the desert, which is a 12 days' journey off.

10 **Amasis dead: Psammenitus, 525, awaits Egypt.**

Cambyzes.—Meantime Amasis had died, after reigning 44 years without a single reverse, and was embalmed (ii. 170); but his son and successor, Psammenitus, encamped at the Pelusian mouth and awaited Cambyzes. In the reign of Psammenitus rain fell at Thebes, which has never occurred in Upper Egypt before or since.

- 11 **Egyptians routed.**—The Persians having crossed the desert halted close to the Egyptians, when the Greek and Carian mercenaries of Psammenitus, enraged with Phaneas, slew his sons, who had been left in Egypt, before his sight, cutting their throats over a bowl and mixing their blood with wine and water, which they drank. A fearful conflict then ensued, in which the Egyptians were routed.

Egyptian and Persian skulls.—Herodotus saw the skulls of the slain, and found those of the Egyptians very hard, whilst those of the Persians were very soft. This he thinks was caused from the former shaving their heads from their infancy, and the latter wearing turbans. Herodotus saw similar skulls at Papremis, where a body of Persians, under Achæmenes, son of Darius, were cut off by Inarus the Libyan (c. 15).*

* **Revolt of Inarus, and subsequent history of Egypt.**—This circumstance took place about B. C. 459, and is as follows. Achæmenes, son of Darius I., was appointed by his brother Xerxes governor of Egypt, in B. C. 484, (vii. 7,) and also commanded the Egyptian fleet in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece (vii. 97, 236). In B. C. 460 Egypt revolted under Inarus the Libyan, and Achæmenes, being sent to subdue it, was defeated and killed. The Athenians sent assistance to Inarus, but in B. C. 455 Artaxerxes Longimanus, who was then king of Persia, sent a large force to Egypt under Megabyzus, who defeated the Egyptians and their allies, took and crucified Inarus, and again reduced all the country to the Persian yoke, except the island of Elbo in the Delta, (ii. 40,) where Amyrtæus was declared king, being protected by the extent of the marshes, and warlike spirit of the marshmen. (Thucyd. i. 104, 109, 110.) In B. C. 414 the Egyptians again expelled the Persians, and Amyrtæus reigned six years; 65 years of independence followed, after which, B. C. 350, Egypt was again reduced by Artaxerxes

Memphis taken.—The defeated Egyptians retired to Memphis. Cambyses sent a Mitylene vessel with a herald offering terms, but the enemy poured from the city, destroyed the ship, and tore the crew to pieces. Memphis was then besieged, and at length surrendered.

Surrender of Cyrene and Barca.—The Cyrenæans, Barcæans, and neighbouring Libyans submitted to tribute without fighting, and sent gifts, which Cambyses accepted, save those from the Cyrenæans, which he scattered amongst his troops, as they only amounted to 500 minæ of silver [about £2000].

NORTHERN
AFRICA.

Cyrene and
Barca.

Psammenitus insulted: revolts and is slain.—On the 10th day after Memphis was taken, Cambyses placed Psammenitus, who had only reigned six months, at the entrance of the city, with other Egyptians of the first rank, in order to insult them. He then dressed their daughters as slaves bearing water, and had them led past their fathers, who then all wept except Psammenitus, who only bowed his head. The king's son with 2000 other young Egyptians were then led by with halters round their necks and bridles in their mouths, and under sentence of death for the slain Mitylenæans, 10 Egyptians suffering for every Mitylenæan. Psammenitus still seemed unmoved, but at length seeing an old companion begging, he burst into tears, and upon Cambyses sending to know the reason, said that his domestic calamities were beyond grief, but the adversities of his friend claimed his sympathy. Croesus, who accompanied the Persians, wept on hearing this, and Cambyses sent to relieve the son of Psammenitus, but was too late. Psammenitus was treated kindly by Cambyses, and might have been appointed governor of Egypt, as Thannyras, son of Inarus, and Pausiris, son of Amyrtæus, in after times received their fathers' crowns; but he was discovered inciting the Egyptians to revolt, and put to death by being obliged to drink bull's blood.

Egypt.

Cambyses insults the corpse of Amasis.—Cambyses proceeded from Memphis to Sais, where he disinterred Ochus, and became a Persian province; and in B. C. 332 formed a portion of the empire of Alexander the Great.

Amasis, and insulted his body by scourging it, pulling out the hair, and inflicting other indignities, and then burning it; thus shocking the Persians, who thought it an insult to the fire, which they regard as a god, and the Egyptians, who thought it an insult to the corpse, believing fire to be a beast. The Egyptians say that the corpse insulted was not Amasis, but a man whom Amasis had buried at the entrance of the sepulchre, having been warned by an oracle of the threatened evil. But this appears to be untrue.

- 17 **Contemplates war with the Carthaginians, Ammonians, and Ethiopians.**—After this Cambyses planned three campaigns. He resolved, 1st, To send his fleet against Carthage; 2nd, To despatch a division of his infantry against the Ammonians; and, 3rd, To send spies with gifts to the Macrobian Ethiopians. The spies were to
- 18 see the table of the sun, a meadow in the suburbs said to be spread by the magistrates every night with cooked flesh of different quadrupeds, though the inhabitants af-
- 19 firm it to be produced by the soil. Cambyses accordingly summoned from Elephantis the Ichthyophagi, who spoke Ethiopic, and meanwhile ordered his Phœnician fleet to sail against Carthage.

Phœnicians refuse to attack Carthage.—The Phœnicians refused to sail, Carthage being their colony, and Cambyses could not force them, because they had voluntarily joined him with the Cyprians, and moreover were the main strength of his navy.

- 20 **Ichthyophagi spy Ethiopia.**—Cambyses then sent the Ichthyophagi with presents to Ethiopia of a purple cloak, a golden neck-chain, bracelets, an alabaster box of myrrh, and a cask of palm wine. The Ethiopians are described as the tallest and handsomest men, choosing the strongest
- 21 and tallest for king. The Ichthyophagi presented the gifts to the Ethiopian king, who told them they were spies, and gave them a bow for Cambyses, with the message that "when the Persians could string it, they might invade Ethiopia; till then they might thank the gods for never having tempted the Ethiopians to attack them."
- 22 The king then took up the cloak, and learning about the

CENTRAL
AFRICA.
—
Ethiopia.

dyeing, said that the Persians were as deceitful as their garments. Of the neck-chain and bracelets, he said the Ethiopians had stronger fetters than those; and on the manufacture of myrrh, he made the same remark as upon the cloak. He liked the wine, and learning that the Persians fed on bread and never lived beyond 80 years, said he was not surprised that their years were so few, since they fed on muck, and if it were not for the wine, their years would be fewer. The Ichthyophagi were then told that the Ethiopians lived 120 years, and fed on 23 boiled meat, and drank milk. They were also shown a fountain smelling like violets, in which nothing would float, and which made bathers glisten as with oil. Also prisoners in golden shackles, brass being there the rarest metal; together with the table of the sun; and lastly, 24 sepulchres of crystal dug from the earth and shaped like columns. In these last the bodies are placed after being dried, plastered, and painted, and are visible in every part without emitting a smell. For the first year the relatives keep the body and sacrifice to it, but afterwards place it somewhere near the city.

Ethiopian expedition failed.—On the return of the spies, Cambyzes marched like a madman towards Ethiopia without the necessary provisions. The Greeks he left behind, also 50,000 men at Thebes to reduce the Ammonians and burn the temple of Zeus, and hurried to Ethiopia with the remainder of his land forces; but his provisions failed before he had proceeded one fifth of the way, and his troops soon consumed all the sumpter beasts. Cambyzes however still advanced, and his army lived on roots and vegetables, but on reaching the desert, were compelled to decimate and eat one another. Cambyzes, horror-stricken, then retired to Thebes, and from thence to Memphis, and then permitted the Greeks to sail away. 25

Ammonian expedition failed.—The 50,000 men sent against the Ammonians were traced to the city of Oasis, seven days' journey from Thebes, inhabited by Samians; but, as the Ammonians say, were overwhelmed by sand, brought on by a furious south wind, on arriving half-way.

Western route
from Thebes to
Siwah. 26

- 27 **Egypt.** **Cambyzes insults Apis.**—Whilst Cambyzes was at Memphis, the god Apis, the Epaphus of the Greeks, (ii. 38, *note*,) appeared to the Egyptians, who then commenced rejoicings. Cambyzes thinking that these rejoicings were caused by the failure of his expedition, summoned the magistrates, who told him the story of Apis, upon which he said they were
- 28 liars, and executed them. He then called the priests, and hearing the same story, ordered Apis to be brought, who is a calf born from a heifer and the moon, which heifer is never more allowed to conceive. Apis is black, with a square white spot on his forehead, and the figure of an eagle on his back; in his tail are double hairs, and on
- 29 his tongue a beetle. Cambyzes, upon seeing Apis, stabbed him in the thigh, and laughing at the priests, ordered them to be scourged, and all found feasting to be executed. Apis died of his hurt, and the priests secretly buried him.
- 30 **Cambyzes mad: kills Smerdis.**—For this crime Cambyzes, according to the Egyptians, went mad. His first misdeed was murdering his brother Smerdis, whom he had sent back to Persia, because he alone could string the Ethiopian bow within two digits [$1\frac{1}{2}$ inch]. Afterwards, dreaming that he saw Smerdis on the Persian throne, touching the sky with his head, he despatched Prexaspes to kill him, which was done either in the chase, or by drowning him in the Erythræan (c. 74, 75).
- 31 **Slays his sister.**—He next slew his sister, whom he had incestuously married; for on asking his judges if any law would authorize the marriage, they said, "No, but a Persian king might do as he liked." Cambyzes afterwards married another sister, and it was the youngest whom he
- 32 murdered. Two accounts are given of the murder: 1. The Greeks say that Cambyzes placed a lion's whelp to fight a puppy, which soon beat it, when a brother puppy broke his chain, and the two together overpowered the lion. The sister then wept, and Cambyzes asking her the cause, said it reminded her of Smerdis, who had no avenger. For this Cambyzes murdered her. 2. The Egyptians say that whilst at table she stripped a lettuce, and on her husband's telling her it was more beautiful

with the leaves, she replied that he had thus stripped Cyrus's family. Cambyzes then killed her by a kick whilst pregnant.

His other excesses.—The madness of Cambyzes, whether it arose from his treatment of Apis, or from epilepsy, urged him to other enormities. Prexaspes once told him that the Persians thought him addicted to wine, which enraged him, because previously both the Persians and Croesus had flattered him : the former by saying, that as he had increased the dominions of Cyrus, he was superior to his father ; and the latter by saying, that he was only inferior to Cyrus, in not having so good a son as his father had. He now, to prove that drinking had not affected his mind, shot the son of Prexaspes through the heart with an arrow, and the father seeing his madness pretended to praise his skill. At another time he wantonly buried 12 noble Persians with their heads downwards.

Croesus the Lydian remonstrated with Cambyzes, who then reproached him with losing his own government by bad management, and causing the death of Cyrus by bad advice, and took his bow to shoot him, but Croesus escaped. Cambyzes ordered his attendants to seize and kill Croesus, but they, knowing his temper, concealed him, thinking that Cambyzes would repent the sentence. Cambyzes did relent, and on learning that Croesus was alive, he rejoiced at it, but executed his disobedient servants. He also opened the sepulchres at Memphis, and scoffed at and burnt the pigmy images in the temples of Hephæstus and the Cabeiri, which are like the Pataeci which the Phœnicians place at their prows. The temple of the Cabeiri ought only to be entered by the priest. Herodotus thinks Cambyzes was mad, or he would not have insulted religion and customs. For all men think their own institutions the best, and would not change them for those of any other nation. Darius proved this by asking the Greeks to eat the bodies of their fathers, and the Callatians to burn them, which was rejected with horror by both parties. Pindar's words are true,—“Custom is the king of all men.” (*Continued at c. 61.*)

II. (*Digress.*) *Tyranny of Polycrates, chap. 39—60.*

- 39 **Polycrates, tyrant of Samos.**—Whilst
Isle of Samos,
in the Ægean
Sea. Cambyses invaded Egypt, the Lacedæmo-
nians declared war against Polycrates, tyrant
of the isle of Samos. The state had previously been di-
vided between himself and his two brothers, Pantagnotus,
whom he murdered, and Syloson, whom he expelled.
- Allies with Amasis.**—Polycrates had then allied with
Amasis, and increased in power, prosperity, and fame,
possessing 100 fifty-oared galleys, and 1000 archers. He
plundered without distinction; took many islands and
continental cities; and enslaved the Lesbians, who went
to succour the Milesians, and forced them to dig the moat
40 round Samos. Amasis advised Polycrates in his unin-
terrupted successes, to avert certain bad fortune, by
41 throwing away that which he valued most. Polycrates
took an emerald signet-ring worked by Theodorus the
Samian, and going out in a fifty-oared galley cast it
42 into deep water. Five or six days afterwards a fisher-
man brought a large fish to Polycrates, which was soon
43 found to have the ring in its belly. Amasis being in-
formed of this by Polycrates, felt certain that evil
threatened him, so immediately broke off the alliance.
- 44 **Sends seditious Samians to Cambyses, 526.**—It was
against this Polycrates that the Lacedæmonians now de-
clared war, at the request of those Samians, who sub-
sequently founded Cydonia, in Crete (c. 59). Prior to
this, Polycrates had requested Cambyses to send to him
for troops for his Egyptian expedition; and when the
latter asked for a naval force, Polycrates sent him 40
45 triremes, manned by seditious Samians, whom he re-
quested might never be suffered to return. Some say
that these Samians never reached Egypt; others, that
they fled from thence, and returned and defeated the fleet
of Polycrates, but afterwards were routed on land. Others
say that they also defeated Polycrates on land; but their
applying to the Lacedæmonians for aid disproves this;
nor could they have beaten the large army of Poly-
crates, especially as he had locked up the wives and

children of his subjects in the docks, ready to burn them in case they deserted to the rebels.

Insurgents joined by the Lacedæmonians.—The insurgent Samians arriving in Sparta, asked for aid in a long speech, of which the archons declared they had forgotten the beginning, and could not understand the end. At a second meeting the Samians brought a sack and said, “the sack wants meal.” The archons observed that the words were superfluous, but promised assistance. The Lacedæmonians then set out for Samos, in order, as the Samians say, to repay them for having previously assisted them against the Messenians [B. c. 685—671]; but, as the Lacedæmonians say, to revenge themselves for the robbery of the wine-bowl sent to Cræsus, (i. 70,) and of a curious linen corselet inwreathed with figures of gold and wool, each thread consisting of 360 fibres, which Amasis had sent them, like the one he dedicated to Athene at Lindus (ii. 182).

PELOPON-
NESUS.
—
Sparta.

46

Joined by the Corinthians.—The Corinthians also eagerly abetted the expedition against Samos, having been insulted by the Samians in the previous generation. Periander, tyrant of Corinth, had sent 300 noble youths of Coreyra to Alyattes, king of Lydia, at Sardis, to be castrated, but the Corinthians in charge having touched at Samos, the Samians protected the youths in the temple of Artemis, and instituted choruses of virgins and boys to give them cakes of sesame and honey every evening. The Corinthians then departed, and the youths were returned to Coreyra.

Corinth.

48

Enmity between the Corinthians and Corcyræans.—The Corinthians had always been at variance with the Corcyræans, and therefore hated the Samians for interfering. Periander had sent these youths to Sardis in revenge for the following insult. After he had killed his first wife, Melissa, (v. 92,) his two sons, aged 17 and 18, were sent for by Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus and father of Melissa, who treated them kindly, but at parting told them of their mother's death. This the elder passed unnoticed, but the younger, Lycophron, was so grieved, that on his return he considered his father a murderer,

49

50

- 51 and refused to speak to him. Periander expelled Lycophron, and, hearing the cause of his behaviour from his brother, he ordered no one to admit him into their houses ;
- 52 and finally threatened all who did so with a fine to Apollo. Lycophron then haunted the porticoes, till Periander, pitying him, tried to win him back, but was only taunted with having incurred the fine he had himself imposed. He then sent him to Corcyra, and made war upon Procles, as the cause of his son's vagrancy, took him prisoner,
- 53 and captured Epidaurus. Subsequently, Periander, growing old, desired to give the tyranny of Corinth to Lycophron, as his other son was incapacitated. He sent first a messenger, and then his daughter to him, but without effect. He then offered to change places, and go himself to Corcyra, if Lycophron would return to Corinth. Lycophron agreed to this, but was murdered by the Corcyraeans, to prevent Periander's coming. This was the motive for Periander's vengeance upon Corcyra.
- 54 **Lacedæmonians besiege Samos.**—The Lacedæmonians now besieged Samos with a large force, and had passed the tower on the sea-side, when Polycrates himself repulsed them, with one body of troops, whilst another of Samians and auxiliaries poured from the upper tower on the mountain ridge.
- 55 The Lacedæmonians fled, but if they had all behaved like Archias and Lycopas, Samos would have been taken. These two rushed into the town with the Samian fugitives, and being shut out from retreat, were slain. Herodotus himself met the grandson of Archias at Pitane, who respected the Samians because his father was called Samius, and his grandfather was buried at the public charge, in commemoration of the valiant death of
- 56 Archias. The Lacedæmonians besieged Samos for 40 days, and at length returned to Peloponnesus, bribed, as it is said, by Polycrates, with leaden coin gilt. This was the first expedition of the Lacedæmonian Dorians into Asia.
- 57 **Migrations of the insurgent Samians.**—The insurgent Samians, forsaken by the Lacedæmonians, sailed to Siphnos, an island so rich in gold and silver mines, that the Siphnians, who divided the product every year amongst

themselves, paid the highest tithe to Delphi of all the islanders. An oracle had said to the Siphnians,

"In Siphnos, when the hall and mart are white,
Look for a guard in men of prudent sight,
'Gainst wooden ambuscade and herald crimson dight."

The oracle was now fulfilled. At that time the Prytaneum and market-place were of Parian marble, and all ships were painted with red lead. The insurgent Samians, on arriving at Siphnos, sent one of their ships with ambassadors on board to demand 10 talents [£2400] of the Siphnians. The latter refused, and the Samians then plundered the country, defeated the Siphnians, and extorted 100 talents [£24,000]. With this they bought the island of Hydrea, near Peloponnesus, from the Hermionians, and pledged it to the Trœzenians, whilst they sailed to Crete, expelled the Zacynthians, founded Cydonia, and built sacred precincts and the temple of Dictyna. In the sixth year the Æginetæ defeated them at sea, and sold them into slavery with the Cretans, and sawed off their prows, which had boars as figure-heads, and consecrated them in the temple of Athene in Ægina. This they did because the Samians had attacked Ægina whilst Amphicrates ruled Samos.

Samian works.—Herodotus was thus prolix, because the Samians executed the three mightiest works in Greece. 1st, A tunnel seven stadia [nearly one mile] long, and eight feet in height and breadth, with an aqueduct along the middle, 20 cubits [30 feet] deep, and 3 feet broad; the whole under a mountain 150 orgyæ [900 feet] high: the architect was Eupalinus of Megara. 2nd, A breakwater round the harbour, 100 orgyæ [600 feet] deep, and 2 stadia [$\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile] long. 3rd, The largest temple in the world, built by Rhæcus, a Samian.

III. *Usurpation of Smerdis Magus, and accession of Darius, chap. 61—97.*

Revolt of the Magi, 523.—Whilst Cambyses was acting like a madman in Egypt, two brothers, who were Magi, revolted. One of these, Patizeithes, had been left by

CENTRAL
ASIA.
—
Susa, or
Sushan.

61

Cambyzes as steward of his palace: and having learnt the death of Smerdis, which was a secret in Persia, and having also a brother of the same name and similar features,* he seated him on the throne, and sent heralds to all quarters, especially to Egypt, to proclaim that hence-
 62 forth Smerdis should be obeyed and not Cambyzes. One of these heralds met Cambyzes and his army at Ecbatana in Syria, and Cambyzes thought that Prexaspes had deceived him, and that the real Smerdis was alive (c. 30);
 63 but after examining both him and the herald, he discovered the truth.

64 **Death of Cambyzes.**—Cambyzes then remembered his dream, (c. 30,) and leaped on his horse to proceed to Susa, when the cap of his sword sheath fell off, and the naked blade pierced his thigh exactly where he had wounded Apis. Fearing his death, he asked the name of the place, and learning it to be Ecbatana, he recovered his senses and exclaimed,

Ecbatana in
Syria.

* **Origin and character of the Magi.**—The Magi were originally one of the six tribes into which the Medes were divided, (i. 101,) and, like the Levites in the Mosaic institution, were intrusted with the care of religion. After the Medes were united with the Persians, the Magi formed a sacred caste or college, which became very famous in the ancient world. The primitive Magian religion, which consisted in the worship of Ormuzd, the symbol of light and goodness, had become debased at a very early period. At length Zoroaster, who appears to have flourished at some period prior to the present era, came to renovate the old and corrupt system, being, as he himself intimates in the Zendavestas, the restorer of the word which Ormuzd had formerly revealed, but which the influence of the Devs (the principles of evil who had been created by Ahriman, the symbol of darkness and evil) had degraded into a false and deceptive magic. The Magi as a caste did not escape from his reforming hand. He seems to have remodelled their institute, and divided them into three great classes: 1. Herbeds, or learners; 2. Mobeds, or masters; 3. Destur Mobeds, or perfect scholars (Zendavest. ii. 171, 261). The Magian priesthood possessed extraordinary authority and influence. They alone performed religious rites, and knew the ceremonies which availed to conciliate Ormuzd; none but they could see into the future; and the general belief in the trustworthiness of their predictions, the all but universal custom of consulting the will of the divinity before entering on any important undertaking, and the blind faith which was reposed in all that the Magi did, reported, or commanded, combined to create for that sacerdotal caste a power, both in public and private concerns, which has probably never been exceeded.

"Here Cambyzes must die;" for the oracle at Buto had foretold that he should die in Ecbatana, which he had believed meant Ecbatana in Media, where he had collected all his wealth, and not Ecbatana in Syria. Twenty days afterwards, Cambyzes summoned the chief Persians, and explained how he had been misled by his dream to murder his brother; and enjoined them all, especially those of the Achæmenidæ, who were present, to eject the Magi by force or craft. He then mourned his past conduct, and the Persians wept also; and soon afterwards his thigh mortified and he died, after reigning seven years and five months, leaving no offspring.

Smerdis Magus king.—On the death of Cambyzes, the Persians believed that the real Smerdis had ascended the throne, for Prexaspes denied having slain him. Smerdis Magus reigned seven months, and lavished favours, and promised to exempt his dominions from war-levies and tribute for three years, but in the eighth month, Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, a noble Persian, discovered the fraud.

His imposture discovered.—Phædima, daughter of Otanes, had been married to Cambyzes, and the Magus had taken her with the king's other women. As the Magus never left the citadel, nor showed his face, Otanes became suspicious, and asked his daughter whether the Magus was the real Smerdis. She replied that she had never seen Smerdis. He then desired her to ask Atossa, but she answered that the Magus had stopped all communication between the women. Being now still more suspicious, he directed her, when her turn came, to feel if the king had ears, for if so, he was the real Smerdis, brother of Cambyzes, if not he was the Magus, who had had them cropped by Cyrus. Phædima discovered that he had no ears, and informed her father.

Conspiracy of the seven.—Otanes explained the case to Aspathines and Gobryas, Persians of the highest rank, and each agreed to take a partner in whom he might confide. Otanes took Intaphernes; Gobryas, Megabyzus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. There were therefore six, when Darius, son of Hystaspes, arriving at Susa, from Persia, of which his father was viceroy, they added him

- 71 to their number. The seven met and exchanged pledges, when Darius proposed immediate action, to which Otanes objected, but Darius advised them to act that very day,
72 or he would himself impeach them. He then proposed that they should go at once to the king, for no guards would deny men of their rank, and moreover he could
73 say that he had a message from his father. Gobryas then acceded to this, and recalled the dying injunctions of Cambyzes, till all agreed with him.
- 74 **Prexaspes confesses the fraud.**—During this debate the Magi, knowing that Cambyzes had shot the son of Prexaspes, (c. 35,) and that Prexaspes alone knew of the death of the real Smerdis, tried to win his friendship, and bound him by oaths and promise of reward not to divulge it. They then sent to him to proclaim to the Persians from the top of a tower, that Smerdis, son of Cyrus, was
75 their king, and no other; but on ascending it, he recited the genealogy of Cyrus from Achæmenes,* and, after lauding Cyrus, he stated how Cambyzes had forced him to murder Smerdis, and adjured the Persians to wreak vengeance on the Magi. He then threw himself headlong from the tower and was slain.
- 76 **Death of the Magi.**—Meantime the seven conspirators, after praying to the gods, had proceeded to the palace, and on their way had learnt the death of Prexaspes. Otanes advised delay, but Darius urged them to proceed, and whilst contending, seven couple of hawks appeared pursuing two vultures, which was received as a good omen by the *seven*, and they immediately followed Da-
77 rius. On arriving at the palace they passed the sentinels, and slew the eunuchs who tried to oppose their entrance.
- 78 They then rushed to the apartments of the Magi, who were debating the conduct of Prexaspes, and on seeing the *seven*, one seized a bow and the other a javelin, and with it wounded Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphernes in the eye. The Magian with the bow, finding his weapon useless from the proximity of the foe, rushed to

* Achæmenes was the ancestor of the Persian kings, and founder of the Achæmenidæ, the chief family of the Pasargadæ, which was the noblest of the Persian tribes (i. 125). The genealogy is given by Xerxes (vii. 11).

an alcove, but was followed by Darius and Gobryas. The latter grappled with the Magus, and Darius refrained from striking lest he should wound his friend, till Gobryas told him to drive his sword through both, if necessary; he then made a thrust, and luckily slew the Magus only. The five then left their wounded comrades in the citadel, and cutting off the heads of the two Magi they rushed out, and showing the heads and telling the circumstances, they killed all the Magi they met. Their example was followed, and night alone prevented the extermination of the Magi. This day, called the "Massacre of the Magi," is still observed by the Persians, when no Magus may appear after sunset. 79

Discussion upon the three forms of government, viz. democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy.—Five days having elapsed and the tumult subsided, the seven nobles held a council. Otanes advised a democracy, and showed the evils of a monarchy by referring to the conduct of Cambyses and the Magi, and by proving how the best of men, if invested with supreme power, are soon guilty of insolence and envy; and moreover, will overturn the ancient laws, violate women, and execute men unheard; whereas a democracy gives equal rights, and is guiltless of excesses. Megabyzus advised an oligarchy, and showed that the tyranny and insolence of a mob was more insufferable than that of a king, because of their ignorance and stupidity. Darius agreed with Megabyzus in condemning a democracy, but not in upholding an oligarchy, for he recommended a monarchy. He then considered the three forms of government, supposing each to be composed of the best men: viz.—1. In the best democracy corruptions and powerful coalitions would arise among the bad, till a champion of the people put down the evil-doers and became a monarch. 2. In the best oligarchy, private feuds would create rebellions; rebellions, murder; and murder, monarchy. 3. A monarchy was thus the best and strongest, and its adoption would follow out the institutions of their ancestors. 80 81 82

Choice of a king.—The proposal for monarchy was carried by four to three. Otanes then said that one of the seven must be king, and gave up his chance upon 83

condition that both he, his family, and posterity should be independent of the monarch; and, to this day, his descendants alone are free of government. The six remaining candidates then resolved: 1. That whoever should be king should give yearly a Median dress and other presents to Otanes and his posterity, for having first set the conspiracy on foot. 2. That any of the seven might enter the king's presence unannounced at any time, unless he was engaged with one of his wives. 3. That the king should only marry into the families of the seven. 4. That he should be king whose horse first neighed next morning after sunrise, when they rode together in the suburb. Cebares, groom to Darius, artfully contrived, by playing a trick with a mare, to make his master's horse neigh first, which was immediately followed by a flash of lightning and clap of thunder. The others then dismounted from their horses and saluted Darius as king.

88 **Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persian empire, B. C. 522—485.**—Darius, son of Hystaspes, thus ruled all Asia except Arabia, which remained friendly, and had given a passage to Cambyses into Egypt (c. 8). Darius married, 1. and 2. The two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa (widow of Cambyses and Smerdis Magus) and Artystona; 3. Paramys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus; 4. Phædyma, daughter of Otanes, who discovered Smerdis Magus. He set up a stone statue of himself on horseback with this inscription; "Darius, son of Hystaspes, by the instinct of his horse, and the skill of Cebares, obtained the Persian empire."

89 **Division of the Empire into Satrapies.**—Darius divided his dominions into 20 Satrapies, and having appointed satraps, fixed the tribute for each; but he sometimes included adjoining and sometimes distant tribes in the same satrapy.* Such as contributed silver

* **Geographical division of the empire.**—This assertion of Herodotus does not however prevent a geographical arrangement of the several satrapies. Rennell indeed appears to doubt the fact that distant tribes ever were associated under one satrap, and adds "that though, in some instances, the component districts may form a satrapy of an inconvenient form, and not at all concentrated, yet they are almost invariably found to lie contiguous to each other." In one or two cases however distant tribes appear to have been certainly

were to pay it according to the Babylonian talent, and gold, according to the Euboic talent. The Babylonian talent is equal to 70 Euboic minæ.* Under Cyrus and Cambyeses the people paid no tribute, but brought donations; the Persians therefore call Cyrus a father, from his mildness and good nature; Cambyeses a master, from his severity and pride; and Darius a tradesman, because he made profit of every thing.

THE TWENTY SATRAPIES OF DARIUS.†

[Geographical extent of the Persian empire under Darius.—The Persian empire now extended from the *Ægean* to the Indus, from the steppes of Scythia to the cataracts of the Nile. It included the modern territories of Egypt, Turkey in Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, and Beloochistan, together with part of Independent Tartary and Arabia. Ocean, desert, and mountain chains were its frontiers. The deserts east of the Indus and west of the Nile, bounded it where the sun rises and where it sets. The Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, which Herodotus called by the one name of Erythræan, washed its southern borders. On the north were the Black Sea and the Caspian. The Black Sea runs rapidly through the Sea of Marmora into the *Ægean* on its west; whilst the great chain of Caucasus begins on its north-eastern side, and throws straggling masses across to the south of the Caspian. Farther eastward the same range stretches with nearly unbroken line to join the Hindu Koosh, and so onward to the mighty Himalayas; but the Persian power seems to have passed through the defiles east of the Caspian, and established a dominion to the banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes.]

I. *Asia Minor.*

1. Western or maritime districts, viz.—1. The Ionians, 2. The Asiatic Magnesians, 3. The *Æolians*, 4. The Carians, 5. The Lycians, 6. The Milyans, 7. The Pamphylians. [This included about 450 geographical miles of the sea-coast of Asia Minor, stretching from the Gulf of Adramyttium in the north, round by the Triopian promontory on the south, as far as Cilicia.] Revenue, 400 silver talents = £112,000.

thrown into one government; this will be found discussed in my work on the Geography of Herodotus.

* See Tables of Weights and Measures.

† A full geographical account of the twenty satrapies, incorporating all the scattered notices in Herodotus of the different races which they include, will be found in my *Geography of Herodotus*, the first part of which I hope to publish simultaneously with the present volume, and to which the reader is especially referred, as in some cases I have thought fit to deviate from the arrangement of Rennell, and to adopt the opinion of more modern commentators.

2. **Lydian Asia Minor, viz.**—1. The Mysians, 2. The Lydians, 3. The Lasonians, 4. The Cabalians, 5. The Hygennians. [This was a tract inside the maritime provinces of the first satrapy, and was the smallest of all the satrapies, but paid a large tribute from the great wealth of Lydia and its ancient capital of Sardis.] Revenue, 500 silver talents = £140,000.

3. **Northern Asia Minor, viz.**—1. The Asiatic Hellespontines, 2. The Phrygians, 3. The Asiatic Thracians, i. e. Bithynians, 4. Paphlagonians, 5. Mariandynians, 6. Syri-Cappadocians. [An extensive satrapy compared with the two former, and embraced the great body of Asia Minor north of the Taurus and east of Lydia, as well as the whole northern coast, probably including the Troad, and stretching to, if not beyond, the river Thermodon in Pontus.] Revenue, 360 silver talents = £100,800.

4. **Southern, or Cilician, Asia Minor, viz.**—The Cilicians. [Bound- ed on the north by Mount Taurus, and on the south by the Mediter- ranean, and stretching to the east as far as the Euphrates.] Revenue, 360 white horses, one a day, and 500 silver talents = £140,000; 140 of the talents were spent in the cavalry guarding Cilicia, and the re- mainder went to Darius.

II. *Syria and Africa.*

91 5. **Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cyprus, viz.**—The country extending from Posideium on the confines of Cilicia and Syro-Cappadocia to Egypt, excepting a part of Arabia, thus including Phœnicia, Palæ- stine, and Cyprus. [This satrapy also certainly included Syria Pro- per, ii. 116, 158.] Revenue, 300 silver talents = £88,000.

6. **Egypt and Libya, viz.**—Egypt and the part of Libya conti- guous, with Cyrene and Barca. Revenue: 1st, 120,000 measures of corn for the support of the Persian garrison at Memphis. 2nd, A revenue derived from the fish from Lake Mœris. 3rd, 700 silver talents = £136,000.

III. *Countries between the Euphrates and Indus.*

7. **Sattagidæ, Gandarians, Dadicæ, and Aparytæ.**—[Four un- known tribes which we may suppose to have occupied a tract in the neighbourhood of the 12th satrapy, as they wore the same armour in Xerxes' army as the nations who occupied that territory. (Comp. vii. 66.) Their province probably lay to the south of the Caspian.] Revenue, 170 silver talents = £47,600.

8. **Susa and the rest of the Cissians.**—[The province of Susiana, or Cissia, which was the smallest satrapy next to Lydia, and situated between Babylonia, Media, Persia, and the Persian Gulf. As it in- cluded Susa, the then capital of the empire, and possessed a rich soil and valuable products, it paid a large tribute.] Revenue, 300 silver talents = £84,000.

92 9. **Babylon and the rest of Assyria.**—[This satrapy apparently lay between the Tigris and the Arabian and Assyrian deserts, and in- cluded the cities of Nineveh and Babylon. Rennell would make it a vast territory, including Syria Proper, and stretching to the Me- diterranean. It seems to me more probable that it only included

Babylonia Proper, which is called Assyria by Herodotus, i. 178; and that Syria Proper, which Herodotus, ii. 116, says was inhabited by the Phenicians, was embraced in the fifth satrapy, comp. also ii. 158.] Revenue, 1000 silver talents = £280,000.

10. **Ecbatana and the rest of Media, the Paricani, and Orthocorybantes.**—[The Paricani may be identified with the Paretaceni; one of the Median tribes, i. 101, and the Orthocorybantes with the people of Corbiana; the whole satrapy was probably included in the country of Media, Magna or Media Proper.] Revenue, 450 silver talents = £126,000.

11. **Caspians, Pausica, Pantimathians, and Darsitas.**—[Apparently a province to the south of the Caspian, and westward of the seventh satrapy.] Revenue, 440 silver talents = £123,200.

12. **Bactrians, Eglæ, and nations intervening.**—[Comprising the rich province of Bactria, or Bactriana, at present known by the name of Balkh.] Revenue, 360 silver talents = £100,800.

13. **Armenia from Pactyca and the Armenians to the Euxine.**— 93
[This province lay to the north and east of Assyria, Palestine, and Cilicia, and to the south and east of the 19th satrapy, and included the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. Pactyca bordering on Armenia is unknown. The Pactyes mentioned vii. 67, 85, were armed like the Utians and Mycians, who were situated at a great distance off, in the 14th satrapy, near the Persian Gulf.] Revenue, 400 silver talents = £112,000.

14. **Sagartians, Sarangæ, Thamaneans, Utians, Mycians, and islands in the Erythraean.**—[A satrapy east of Persia Proper, and including islands in the Persian Gulf. Comp. iii. 117.] Revenue, 600 silver talents = £168,000.

15. **Sacæ and Caspians.**—[The Sacæ were a powerful Scythian nation, east and north-east of the Massagetæ. One of their tribes appear at this time to have possessed some territories in the neighbourhood of Bactria, and in conjunction with one of the nations bordering on the Caspian, were formed into the present satrapy. Other Caspians were included in the 11th satrapy.] Revenue, 250 silver talents = £70,000.

16. **Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians.**—[A large province in the interior between Media and Bactria]. Revenue, 300 silver talents = £84,000.

17. **Paricani and Asiatic Ethiopians.**—[The Paricani here associated with the Asiatic Ethiopians must not be confounded with those of Media, who I think may be identified with the Paretaceni. The satrapy probably lay at the extreme south-eastern corner of the empire.] Revenue, 400 talents = £112,000. 94

18. **Matienians, Saspirians, and Alarodians.**—[A satrapy stretching along the eastern bank of the Tigris, between Media on the east and Babylonia and Armenia on the west, northward to Colchis and the river Phasis.] Revenue, 200 talents = £56,000.

19. **Moschians, Tibarenians, Macronians, Mosynœcians, and Marsians.**—[A small satrapy bordering on the Euxine, and northward of Armenia and Cappadocia.] Revenue, 300 talents = £84,000.

20. **Indians.**—A people more numerous than any that is known,

and who therefore contributed a sum proportionately larger. [For an account of this satrapy see c. 102.] Revenue, 360 talents of gold dust.

- 95 **Total revenue.**—Commuting the Babylonian standard talent of silver into the Euboic talent, and reckoning gold at thirteen times the value of silver, the total amount received from the various satrapies would be, in Euboic talents,

	Talents.
Silver from the 19 Satrapies	9540 = £2,289,600
Gold dust from India reduced to silver	4680 = £1,123,200
	<hr/>
	14220 = £3,412,800*

- [Herodotus makes this 14,560 talents, and there must therefore be a mistake in the text of one of the preceding chapters.] Herodotus does not comprise in his estimate
 96 sums smaller than a talent. Such was the revenue of Darius derived from Asia and part of Libya, which was afterwards increased by revenue from the islands [of the *Ægean*] and from Europe as far as Thessaly. The metals are melted and poured into earthen jars; afterwards the masses are turned out, and the king cuts off portions as he requires it.

- 97 The Persians are exempt from taxation, but send gifts. The Ethiopians bordering on Egypt, which were reduced by Cambyzes in his expedition against the Macrobian Ethiopians, furnish every third year two choenices [nearly four pints] of unmolten gold, 200 blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and 20 large elephants' tusks. They reside about Nyssa in subterranean dwellings, and observe the festivals of Dionysus, and use the same pulse as the Calantian Indians. The Colchians taxed themselves and brought, every fifth year, 100 boys and 100 virgins. The Arabians furnished yearly 1000 talents' weight of frankincense. (*Continued at c. 118.*)

* This calculation, in which the Euboic talent is reckoned in round numbers at £240, is obviously but a very small portion of the sum actually collected, according to the value of our English money.

IV. (*Digress.*) *Indians, Arabians, Ethiopians, etc.,*
chap. 98—117.

Southern independent Indians: their EASTERN ASIA. 98
manners, climate, etc.—The Indians are the
farthest nation to the east; beyond them is a Sinde.
sandy desert [i. e. the waste stretching from Guzerat to
Multan]. They have several races, whose languages vary;
some are nomads, others not; some live in river marshes,
eat raw fish, which they catch from boats built of one joint
of a reed, and wear garments of plaited rushes. Others, 99
more eastern, are also nomads, and eat raw flesh, and
kill their sick and aged before their flesh is spoilt and eat
them, the men their male friends, and the women their
female. These are called Padæans. Other Indians kill 100
nothing that has life, sow no crops nor possess houses,
but live on a kind of grain, nearly as large as millet, en-
closed in a husk, and springing up spontaneously, which
they cook and eat in the husk. Their sick retire and die
in the desert. All these Indians are shameless in their 101
manners, and their skin and seed is black like the Ethi-
opians. They live far to the south, [apparently in Sinde,
or the country between Multan and Guzerat,] and were
always independent of Darius.

Northern tributary Indians: their way Little Bucharla. 102
of getting gold, etc.—Other Indians are set-
tled to the north of the above, [apparently among the
mountains of Little Thibet, or Little Bucharla,] border-
ing on Pactyca and the city of Caspatyrus [the modern
territory of Cabul]. Their mode of life is the same as
the Bactrians, and it is they who furnish the gold. These
are the most warlike of all the Indians, and the people
who go to procure the gold; for in their neighbourhood
is a sandy desert [of Gobi], in which are ants, less than
dogs, but larger than foxes, specimens of which are in
the possession of the king of Persia. These creatures
make themselves habitations under ground, throwing up
the sand like the ants in Greece, which they nearly re-
semble in appearance. This sand is mixed with gold.
To procure this, the Indians make incursions into the
desert, taking with them their camels, a male on each

- side, and a female in the centre, on which the rider sits, taking care to choose one which has recently foaled. These camels are as swift as horses, and better able to carry burdens. The Greeks are acquainted with their figure, but are not aware that they have four joints in their hind legs. The Indians come in the above-mentioned manner to the place where the ants are, in the morning, when the sun in India has the greatest power, and the ants are under ground; and having filled their sacks, they ride back as fast as they can, the ants pursuing them, as the Persians say, by the scent; the female camel, eager to rejoin her young ones, surpassing the others in speed and perseverance. It is thus, according to the Persians, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; at the same time that the metal is also found, though in less quantities, in mines.

- 106 **Extreme east.** Wonderful products of the earth's extremities. India: its large animals and cotton-trees.—The extremities of the inhabited world have the most wonderful products, as Greece has the best climate. In India, the farthest nation to the east, all animals are larger than elsewhere, except horses, which are surpassed by the Medic breed called Nisæan. Its trees bear wool, superior to that of sheep, and from which the Indians make their clothes.

- 107 **Extreme south.** Arabia: its incense, winged serpents, cassia, cinnamon, and ledanum.—Again, Arabia, which is the farthest country towards the south, alone produces frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ledanum, all of which except the myrrh is gathered by the Arabians with much difficulty. The incense trees are guarded by winged serpents, (ii. 75,) which the Arabians drive off by burning gum styrax. Providence has ordained noxious animals to be unfruitful, and those fit for food to be prolific. Thus the hare conceives to superfetation, whilst the lioness whelps but once in her life, when her whelp claws out her womb.—So also amongst the winged serpents, and also vipers, the female devours the male after copulation, and her offspring gnaw through her abdomen. Snakes that are harmless are oviparous. Winged serpents are confined to Arabia,

where they are very numerous. The cassia trees, which 110
 grow by a shallow lake, are guarded by fierce winged
 animals like bats, and the Arabians obtain the cassia by
 clothing themselves in skins. Cinnamon is produced 111
 in an unknown land, and large birds bring those rolls of
 bark which from the Phœnicians are called cinnamon, to
 their nests, which are built of clay on inaccessible moun-
 tains. The Arabians cut up very large joints of meat,
 which the birds bearing to their nests, break them down
 by their weight, and the cinnamon is then obtained.
 Ledanum is taken from the beard of he-goats. There 112
 are two species of Arabian sheep; one have tails three 113
 cubits [$4\frac{1}{2}$ feet] long, for which the shepherds make little
 waggons; and the other have tails one cubit [18 inches]
 broad.

Ethiopia.—Ethiopia, the farthest country to the south- 114
 west, produces gold, huge elephants, wild trees, ebony,
 and gigantic, handsome, long-lived men.

Europe: the Eridanus, Cassiterides, and 115
one-eyed Arimaspi.—Such are the verges of Extreme west
and north.
 Asia and Libya. Respecting the western ex-
 tremities of Europe, Herodotus cannot speak with certainty,
 for he does not believe in the existence of the river Eri-
 danus, that falls into the North Sea, and from whence
 amber is said to come, nor does he know the Cassiter-
 rides islands, which produce tin; for Eridanus is a Greek
 name, and not a barbarian, and he has never met a man
 who had seen the sea on that side of Europe. However,
 both tin and amber come from the remotest parts. North- 116
 ern Europe evidently produces gold, but Herodotus does
 not believe that a race of one-eyed men, called Arimaspi,
 steal it from the griffins.

Account of the river Aces.—In Asia is a plain sur- 117
 rounded by mountains, from which the Aces used to
 flow in five channels, and water the lands of the Choras-
 mians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangæans, and Thama-
 næans. The Persian kings, however, shut up the chan-
 nels and made the plain a sea, till the distressed people
 would scream and moan at the palace, and pay money to
 have the flood-gates open.

V. *Reign of Darius to the taking of Babylon, chap.*

118—160.

- 118 **Death of Intaphernes.**—Darius was scarcely
PERSIAN ly king, when Intaphernes, one of the seven
EMPIRE. conspirators, entered the palace whilst the
SUSA. king was with his wives, and being checked
- 119 by the guards, cut off their ears and noses. The guards
 complained to Darius, who, after discovering that he had
 acted without the connivance of the other conspirators,
 executed both him and his family, with the two following
 exceptions. Having desired the wife of Intaphernes to
 choose one of the family, who should be released, she
 selected her own brother, whom Providence could never
 replace, though he might grant her another husband and
 family. Darius was so pleased with the reply, that he
 spared the life of her eldest son as well as that of her
 brother.
- 120 **Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, treacher-**
Sardis. **ously crucified by Oroetes, Persian go-**
vernors of Sardis.—Some time before Darius had ob-
 tained the throne, and whilst Cambyses was sick, (c. 66,) Oroetes,
 who had been appointed governor of Sardis by Cyrus, desired to
 destroy Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, though he had received no
 injury from him, nor hasty word, nor had even seen him. Some
 say, however, that he had been reproached by Mitrobates,
 satrap of Dascylium,
- 121 for not conquering Samos; a smaller number say, that he
 was offended because Polycrates once, when in company
 with Anacreon of Teos, turned his back upon a herald he
- 122 had sent him. However, Oroetes, whilst at Magnesia, on
 the river Mæander, sent Myrsus, a Lydian, with a mes-
 sage to Samos. Now Polycrates is the first Greek who,
 within the historical age,—that is, after Minos and those
 before him,—attempted to rule Ionia and the islands,
 and become master of the sea. Accordingly, Oroetes sent
 to say, “I know you are planning vast enterprises with
 insufficient money. Now I am assured that Cambyses
 is meditating my death. If you will take me and my
 property to a place of safety, you shall have part of my
 wealth: and if you doubt my riches, send one of your

trusty servants, to whom I may show them." Polycrates 123 accordingly sent Mæandrius, his secretary, to see the treasure; but Mæandrius, the same who afterwards dedicated all the ornamental furniture in the saloon of Polycrates to the temple of Hera, was deceived by Oroetes, who showed him light chests of pebbles with gold at the top. Polycrates then went to Oroetes contrary to 124 the advice of the oracles and his friends, and in spite of his daughter, who dreamed that she saw him aloft washed by rain and anointed by the sun. He was accompanied by several friends, including Democedes 125 of Crotona, a celebrated physician; but on arriving at Magnesia he was crucified, and fulfilled his daughter's dream. His Samian followers were dismissed by Oroetes, who however enslaved his aliens and servants. Thus died Polycrates according to the predictions of Amasis, (c. 40,) having lived a life of magnificence unparalleled by any of the Greek tyrants save those of Syracuse.

Oroetes killed by Darius, 522.—After the death of 126 Cambyses and during the reign of the Magi, Oroetes, instead of assisting the Persian government, had taken advantage of the confusion to murder Mitrobates, viceroy of Dascylium, and assassinate his son Cranaspes, and had also slain a courier of Darius. For these crimes Darius 127 resolved to punish him, but as Oroetes had a body-guard of 1000 Persians, and governed Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, he proposed to his council to put him to death. Thirty champions then offered themselves, but 128 Bagæus was chosen by lot. He proceeded to Sardis with letters written by himself, but sealed by Darius. On entering the presence of Oroetes, he gave the letters one by one to his secretary to read aloud, and perceiving that the guard listened with respect, he delivered one which ran, "Persians, Darius forbids you to be guards to Oroetes." When the guards had grounded their lances, another was read, saying, "King Darius commands the Persians at Sardis to kill Oroetes," upon which the guards instantly slew him, and his treasures were confiscated and taken to Susa.

Darius's ankle cured by Democedes.—
Shortly after, Darius, in leaping from his

Susa.

129

- horse, dislocated his ankle, which was so violently treated by the Egyptian physicians that the pain increased, and Darius got no sleep for seven days. On the 8th day Democedes, the Crotonian physician, (c. 125,) was brought to him from amongst the slaves of Oroetes. At first he denied his art, lest he should be kept from returning to Greece, but Darius threatening him with whips and goads, he admitted that he knew a little, and soon, by adopting the Greek method of cure and using mild remedies, restored the king to health. Darius then gave him two pairs of golden fetters, when Democedes asked if he wished to double his woes, which so pleased the king, that he sent him to his wives, who each dipped a cup into a chest of gold, and gave it him. Sciton, a servant, following him, collected a considerable treasure by picking up the staters which fell.
- 131 **Account of Democedes.**—This Democedes, having been ill-treated by his father, had left Croton his native city some years previously, and settled at Ægina, where in the 1st year he surpassed all the physicians; in the 2nd year he received one talent [£240] yearly from the public treasury; in the 3rd the Athenians allowed him 100 minæ [£400]; and in the 4th he came to Samos, where Polycrates allowed him two talents [£480] yearly. From this time the Crotonians were thought the first physicians in Greece, whilst the Cyrenæans were the second, and the Argives were accounted the best musicians.
- 132 **His condition at Susa.**—Democedes had now a large house at Susa, a seat at the king's table, and every luxury except liberty to return to Greece. He had great influence with Darius; and obtained pardon for the Egyptian physicians, who had been first employed; and procured liberty for a prophet of Elis who had attended Polycrates and lay forgotten among the slaves.
- 133 **Darius sends him with spies to Greece.**—Soon after this Democedes cured Atossa of a tumour on her breast, on condition of her granting whatever he asked that was not dishonourable. At his desire she impressed on Darius the importance of going to war, first, to show the Persians that he was a man; and secondly, to prevent their hatching conspiracies. Darius replied that he was
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- 135

preparing to invade Scythia, but she begged him first to conquer Greece, as she wanted Greek waiting-women. Accordingly he next morning ordered 15 spies to explore Greece under Democedes, but not to suffer him to escape. He also requested Democedes to guide the Persians, and gave him a ship to take his treasure as presents to his father and brothers, promising to replace them on his return. Democedes thought this offer was to try his constancy, and said he would leave his effects at Susa, but take the ship.

Adventures of the 15 spies.—The spies proceeded to Sidon, and sailed for Greece in two triremes, with a trading vessel loaded with precious things; and after carefully surveying the coasts on their way, proceeded to Tarentum in Italy. There Aristophilides, the king, in kindness to Democedes took away their rudders, and imprisoned the Persians, whilst Democedes proceeded to Crotona [his native place, situated on the coast, a little to the south of the Tarentine Gulf]. The Persians then recovered their liberty and rudders, and sailing after Democedes, arrested him in the market-place at Crotona; but though they threatened the Crotonians, the latter rescued Democedes, and seized the merchant vessel, and the spies were forced to return to Darius without their guide, and with the message that Democedes was affianced to the daughter of Milo the wrestler, which union Democedes had hurried, to prove to Darius that he ranked high in his own country. The Persians in returning were cast on Iapygia, enslaved, but ransomed by Gillus, a Tarentine exile, to whom Darius then offered whatever he chose to ask, but who only requested to be returned to Tarentum. The Cnidians took back Gillus, but the Tarentines would not receive him. This story is told because these were the first Persians who visited Greece.

Samos taken: Story of Syloson, brother of Polycrates.—Soon afterwards, Darius took Samos, the first city he captured, for the following reason. Whilst Cambyzes invaded Egypt, many Greeks travelled there either to trade, to serve as mercenaries, or to view the country. Amongst the latter class

Voyage from
Phœnicia to
Italy.

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137

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139

Ile of Samos in
the Ægean.

- was Syloson, brother to Polycrates, and an exile from Samos (c. 39). Darius, who at that time was merely one of the king's body-guard, fancied a red cloak belonging
- 140 to Syloson, who would not sell it, but gave it him. When Darius became king, Syloson went to Susa, and announcing himself as the benefactor of Darius, was admitted, and reminded the king of the fact. Darius offered him gifts, which he refused, but begged the king to recover Samos from Mæandrius, the secretary of Polycrates, (c. 123,) who had usurped the tyranny after the murder of his master. Darius acceded to the request,
- 141 and sent an army to Samos under Otanes, one of the seven, (c. 70,) to carry out the wishes of Syloson.
- 142 **Mæandrius, successor to Polycrates in the tyranny of Samos.**—Mæandrius, tyrant of Samos, had been left as regent by Polycrates, and upon the death of the latter had endeavoured, though without success, to act justly. He built an altar to Zeus the liberator, and then publicly offered liberty to the Samians, requiring in return six talents [£1440] from the property of Polycrates, and the priesthood of Zeus for himself and descendants. Telesarchus, an influential citizen, then arose and said, that Mæandrius was unfit to rule, and ought to account for
- 143 the money he had managed; upon which Mæandrius resolved to retain his power, and retiring to the citadel, sent for the chief citizens separately under pretence of accounting for the money, and then threw them into chains. Falling sick soon after, his brother, Lycaretus, in order to succeed him in the tyranny, put them to death.
- 144 **Surrenders to Otanes: massacre of the Samians.**—When the Persians reached Samos with Syloson, Mæandrius and his partisans offered to leave the island on certain conditions, which were acceded to, and the chief Persians seated themselves at their ease before the
- 145 citadel. Charilaus, an insane brother of Mæandrius, seeing them from his dungeon, abused Mæandrius for cowardice, and begged for the command of his troops to expel the Persians. Mæandrius complied, hoping to exasperate the Persians against Samos, and grudging that Syloson should receive the city uninjured. He

then retired by an under-ground passage from the citadel to the sea; whilst Charilaus, heading the auxiliaries, fell unexpectedly upon the Persians before the citadel, and massacred them all. Meanwhile Otanes rallied his troops, and drove the Samians back to the citadel; and purposely forgetting the injunctions of Darius not to kill or imprison a Samian, besieged them with one part of his army, whilst the rest killed every male they could find. Otanes, having thus captured and depopulated the island, gave it up to Syloson, but subsequently re-peopled it in consequence of a dream and a disease. Mæandrius escaped from Samos to Sparta, where he tried to propitiate the king, Cleomenes, by offering him the choice of the gold and silver vases he had brought from Samos. Cleomenes refused them, and learning that Mæandrius had thus courted the support of others, and fearing lest any should be corrupted by his gifts, complained to the ephori, who banished Mæandrius from the Peloponnesus.

Babylonian revolt.—Whilst the Persian fleet was on its way to Samos, the Babylonians, who had been preparing for a siege during the reign of Smerdis and the insurrection of the seven, openly revolted. To economize their provisions each of them chose one woman beside his mother, and strangled the rest. Darius immediately collected his forces and besieged the city, when the inhabitants mocked him from the walls, saying, "You will take us when mules breed." For a year and seven months Darius tried every stratagem without success, and a constant guard prevented his surprising Babylon as Cyrus had done; but in the 20th month a mule belonging to Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, one of the seven, produced a foal, and Zopyrus, considering it a good omen, resolved to take Babylon himself.

Babylon taken by Zopyrus, 516.—Zopyrus then cut off his own nose and ears, and scourged himself; he also arranged with Darius for the latter to post 1000 men at the Semiramis gates on the 10th day from that time; 2000 men at the Nineveh gates seven days after; and 4000 men at the Chaldæan gates, 20 days after that;—

Babylon on the
Euphrates.

- the men to be only armed with their swords ; then in another 20 days Darius was to encircle the city with his whole army, and storm the wall, stationing Zopyrus's
- 156 Persians at the gates of Belus and Cissia. Zopyrus then pretended to desert to the Babylonians, declaring that he
- 157 had been disfigured as they saw by Darius ; and he soon convinced the rebels of his sincerity by heading a part of their force, and cutting off first the 1000, then the 2000, and lastly the 4000 men, until he was extolled highly, and made commander-in-chief, and governor of the city.
- 158 Finally, on the day of general assault, he opened the gates of Cissia and Belus to the Persians, who thus took
- 159 Babylon the second time. Darius now razed the walls, destroyed the gates, which Cyrus had neglected to do, impaled 3000 of the chief citizens, and gave the town to the rest. He then supplied the city with women by taxing the surrounding nations to send in a number which altogether amounted to 50,000.
- 160 Zopyrus honoured.—Darius admired Zopyrus above all Persians except Cyrus, and would rather have saved him from disfigurement than acquired 20 Babylons. He loaded him with honours, sent him yearly gifts, and gave him Babylon to rule free from tribute. From this Zopyrus sprung Megabyzus, who headed the army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies (B. C. 460). From Megabyzus sprung Zopyrus, who deserted from the Persians to the Athenians (B. C. 440).

BOOK IV. MELPOMENE.

DESCRIPTION OF SCYTHIA AND LIBYA, AND EXPEDITIONS OF DARIUS
AND THE PERSIANS. B. C. 518 TO 508.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Invasion of Scythia by Darius. No. 1.*

Causes of the Scythian war.—Story of the offspring of the Scythian women and their slaves. Chap. 1—4.

II. (*Digress.*) *Description of Scythia and the neighbouring Nations. No. 1.*

Scythian account of their origin.—Greek account.—Common account.—Account of Aristeas.—Story of Aristeas.—Scythian tribes.—Nations beyond the Tanais.—The Agrippæi.—The Issedones and Arimaspi.—Climate.—The Hyperboreans.—Story of the two virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice.—Story of the two more ancient virgins, Arge and Opus.—Ridiculous notions of the ocean flowing round the world, etc.

Chap. 1—36.

§ Three quarters of the world: 1st, Asia; 2nd, Libya; and third, Europe.—Circumnavigation of Libya.—Asia explored by Scylax.—Origin of the names of Europe, Libya, and Asia.

Chap. 37—45.

Character of the nations on the Euxine.—Eight Scythian rivers: 1st, the Ister [or Danube]; 2nd, The Tyras [or Dniester]; 3rd, The Hypanis [or Bog]; 4th, The Borysthenes [or Dnieper]; 5th, The Panticapes; 6th, The Hypacyris; 7th, The Gerrhus; and 8th, The Tanais [or Don].—Scythian gods.—Sacrifices.—Sacred heaps of faggots erected to Ares.—Military customs, scalping, flaying, etc.—Drinking customs, skull goblets, etc.—Soothsayers and Ennarees.—Divinations when the king is sick.—Execution of false prophets.—Contracts.—Burial of kings.—Cavalry figures round the royal sepulchre.—Burial of citizens.—Vapour baths of hempseed for purifications.—Military customs.—Hatred of foreign customs.—Anacharsis shot by his brother Saulius, for worshipping Cybele.—Scylas killed by his brother Octamasades, for celebrating the Dionysiac mysteries.—Population of Scythia.—[See also c. 99—117.]

Chap. 46—82.

II. *Invasion of Scythia by Darius. No. 2.*

Darius commences his expedition.—Dimensions of the Euxine, Thracian Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespont.—Bridge and Pillars at the

Bosphorus.—Darius sends Ionians to bridge the Ister.—Marches through Thrace.—Conquers the Getæ.—Account of Zalmoxis.—Darius crosses the Ister. Chap. 83—98.

IV. (*Digress.*) *Description of Scythia and its neighbouring Nations.*
No. 2.

Geographical extent of Scythia. — Scythians send to the neighbouring nations for aid.—Description of, 1st, The Tauri; 2nd, The Agathyrsi; 3rd, the Neuri; 4th, The Androphagi; 5th, The Melanchlæni; 6th, The Budini; and 7th, The Sauromatæ, sprung from the Scythians and Amazons. Chap. 99—117.

V. *Invasion of Scythia by Darius.* No. 3.

Result of the Scythian embassy.—Scythians divide their army.—1st division of Scythians retreat to the desert.—2nd division retreat to the Melanchlæni, Androphagi, and Neuri.—Darius sends to Idanthyrus.—1st division proceed to Ister bridge, and 2nd division harass Darius.—Darius retreats.—Ionian council at the Ister bridge.—Darius escapes over the Ister.—Returns to Asia: leaves Megabazus in Europe.—Honours Megabazus. Chap. 118—144.

VI. *History of Cyrene.*

Story of the Minyæ.—Migration of Theras, with part of the Minyæ, to Callista (Thera).—Origin of the Ægidæ.—Theræan account: Grynus ordered to found a Libyan city, 648.—Corobius sent to Platea, 640: relieved by Colæus.—Samians under Colæus reach Tartessus.—Battus sent to Platea.—Cyrenæan account of Battus, 666.—Battus leaves Platea for Aziris.—Founds Cyrene, 632.—KINGS OF CYRENE: Battus I., 640; Arcesilaus I., 600; Battus II., 584; Arcesilaus II., about 560; Battus III., about 550; Arcesilaus III., about 530, killed by the Cyrenæans; Pheretime applies to Aryandes, governor of Egypt.—Commencement of the Libyan war.—[Three harvests of Cyrene, c. 199.] Chap. 145—167.

VII. *Description of Libya.*

1st Belt of Libyan territory: nations on the sea-coast; 1. The Adyrmachidæ; 2. The Giligammæ; 3. The Asbystæ; 4. The Auschisæ; 5. The Nasamones; 6. The Psylli; 7. The Garamantes; 8. The Macæ; 9. The Gindanes; 10. The Lotophagi; 11. The Machlyes; 12. The Auses.—2nd Belt: wild beast region.—3rd Belt: a sandy ridge occupied by nations on Salt Hills: 1st Salt Hill, the Ammonians; 2nd Salt Hill, the Augilæ; 3rd Salt Hill, the Garamantes; 4th Salt Hill, the Atarantes; 5th Salt Hill, the Atlantes.—4th Belt: the great desert.—Peculiar customs of the Eastern Libyans, or Nomads.—Sacrifices.—Dress.—Western Libyans, or Husbandmen, called Maxyes.—Animals of Libya.—Libyan nations west of the Husbandmen.—Four races in Libya.—Libyan soil.—Three harvests of Cyrene. Chap. 168—199.

VIII. *Conquest of Barca.*

Persians besiege Barca.—Take it by fraud.—Cruelty of Pheretime.—Persians return through Cyrene.—Death of Pheretime. Chap. 200—205.

SUMMARY.

I. *Invasion of Scythia by Darius. No. I. chap. 1—4.*

Causes of the Scythian war.—Asia being now rich 1
and populous, Darius wishes to attack the Scythians,
because, when pursuing the Cimmerians, (i. 15, 103—
106,) they had defeated the Medes and ruled Upper Asia
for 28 years [B. C. 624—596].

Offspring of slaves and Scythian women.

—When the Scythians had returned home
from this incursion they found a race sprung
from their wives and slaves. These slaves
are blind, and shake and skim the mares'
milk, which is obtained by inflating the vulva with a
tube which depresses the udder. This half race resisted 3
by digging a trench from Mount Taurus to the lake
Mæotis, and encamping opposite; and the Scythians only 4
defeated them after many battles by throwing aside their
arms, and attacking them with whips. (*Continued at*
chap. 83.)

2
PERSIA
in
EUROPE.
Southern
territory.

II. (*Digress.*) *Description of Scythia and the neighbour-
ing Nations. No. I. chap. 5—82.*

Scythian account of their own origin.—The Scythians 5
consider theirs to be the most modern of all nations, and
say that the first man born in their country (previously
a desert) was Targitaus, son of Zeus, by a daughter of
the river Borysthenes. Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Coloxais. In their reign a golden
plough, yoke, axe, and bowl having fallen from heaven,
the two eldest wished to seize them, but the gold flamed.
The youngest then approached, and the fire going out,
he took the things home, and his brothers made him sole
king. From Lipoxais sprung the Auchatæ Scythians; 6
from Arpoxais the Catiari and Traspies Scythians; and
from Colaxais the Paralatæ, or royal Scythians; but all
the hordes are called Scoloti, from the surname of their
king; but the Greeks call them Scythians. According 7
to the Scythian accounts 1000 years intervened between
Targitaus and the invasion of Darius. The golden gifts

are watched by the kings, who approach them yearly with the sacrifices. If he who keeps the gold chances to sleep on the festival, the Scythians say he cannot survive the year, and give him as much land as he can compass on horseback in one day. Colaxais divided his kingdom amongst his three sons, making that part the largest where the gold is kept. The region north of Scythia is inaccessible from showers of feathers (c. 31).

- 8 **Greek account.**—The Greeks on the Euxine say, that the Scythians are sprung from Heracles, who drove away the herds of Geryon from Erythia, an island near Gades, in the ocean beyond the Pillars of Heracles [i. e. in the Atlantic, beyond the rocks of Gibraltar]. They say, but they cannot prove it, that this ocean begins in the regions where the sun rises, and flows round the whole earth. From this island Heracles reached Scythia, which was then a desert, and was sent to sleep by the wintry cold. Meantime his mares having been loosened from his chariot to feed, disappeared by some divine chance,
- 9 and whilst seeking for them he reached Hylæa, and found a monster, half woman and half serpent, in a cave, who promised to restore them if he would remain with her. Heracles consenting, she conceived three sons, and he desired her to drive away such of them as could not, when men, bend his bow or put on his girdle, from which
- 10 hung a gold cup. Agathyrsis, Gelonus, and Scythes, being born and grown, Scythes alone succeeded in the task, and the two others were expelled. From Scythes sprung the Scythian kings. The Scythians still wear a cup at their belts.
- 11 **Common account.**—A third account, common to Greeks and Barbarians, is the most credited by Herodotus, viz. that the Scythian nomads once dwelling in Asia, being defeated by the Massagetæ, crossed the Araxes, and entered Cimmeria. The Cimmerian kings wished to fight them, but the people wished to retreat. The kings and people then fought each other till all the kings were slain, upon which the people buried them by the river Tyras, where their sepulchre [tumulus] is yet to be seen, and retired
- 12 before the Scythians. Cimmerian castles and ferries, with a place called Cimmeria, and a Cimmerian Bosphorus,

still exist in Scythia : it is also plain that the Cimmerians, fleeing from Asia, colonized the Chersonesus where Sinope stands ; and that the Scythians missed their road in pursuing them, and entered Media (i. 15, 103).

Account of Aristeas.—A fourth account is given by 13
Aristeas of Proconnesus in his epic verses. He says, that, inspired by Apollo, he went to the Issedones ; that beyond them are the one-eyed Arimaspi ; then the gold-guarding Gryphons ; and then the Hyperboreans, who reach to the sea ; and that all these except the last are constantly encroaching on their neighbours ; the Issedones having been driven from their country by the Arimaspi ; the Scythians, by the Issedones ; and the Cimmerians being pressed by the Scythians, left the country.

Story of Aristeas.—Herodotus heard at Proconnesus 14
and Cyzicus, that this Aristeas was noble, and died suddenly in a fuller's shop in Proconnesus. His relations were then informed of it by the fuller, when a Cyzicenean coming from Artace declared that he had there met Aristeas, who was going to Cyzicus. The relations of Aristeas however went to the fuller's, but could not find his body. Seven years afterwards Aristeas appeared at Proconnesus and composed the Arimaspea, and then again vanished. Herodotus heard at Metapontum, that 340 15
years, according to his own calculation, after this second appearance, Aristeas again appeared amongst the Metapontines, and ordered them to erect an altar to Apollo, and near it a statue of himself, as their country was the only one in Italy visited by Apollo, whom he had followed in the form of a crow. The Metapontines consulted the Pythia and obeyed the spectre, and the statue is still to be seen in the public square. Aristeas went no farther 16
beyond Scythia than the Issedones. Herodotus will afterwards relate what he learnt from hearsay.

Scythian tribes.—Advancing from the port of the 17
Borysthenitæ, which is the centre of the Scythian sea-coast, are, 1st, the Callipidæ or Greek Scythians ; 2nd, the Alazones ; both these sow and feed on wheat, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet ; 3rd, the Scythian husbandmen, who sow wheat for sale ; 4th, the Neuri ; and 5th, a desert. These nations occupy the course of the river Hy-

- 18 panis, west of the Borysthenes. Crossing the Borysthenes, the 1st from the sea is Hylæa; 2nd, Scythian husbandmen, called by the Greek settlers on the Hypanis, Borysthenitæ, but by themselves Olbiopolitæ; these inhabit a tract of three days' journey eastward, which reaches the river Panticapes, and extends northward 11 days' journey up the Borysthenes; 3rd, a desert; 4th, the Androphagi, who are not Scythians; and 5th, another
- 19 desert. Crossing the Panticapes and eastward of the Borysthenitæ, or Scythian husbandmen, are Scythian nomads, who neither sow nor plough, and occupy a tract of 14 days' journey eastward, stretching to the river Gerrhus. All this country except Hylæa is destitute of
- 20 trees. Beyond the Gerrhus are the Royal Scythians, who extend southward to Taurica, and eastward to the trench dug by the slaves (c. 3); also to Cremni on the lake Mæotis, and some to the Tanais. North of the Royal Scythians are the Melanchlæni, but north of them are lakes and a desert.
- 21 Nations beyond the Tanais.—Scythia ceases at the Tanais. The 1st people beyond are the Sauromatæ, (c. 110—117,) who begin at Lake Mæotis and stretch 15 days' journey northward; all their land is destitute of
- 22 trees. 2nd, The Budini, whose country is woody; 3rd, a desert seven days' journey across; 4th, the Thyssagetæ, a hunting nation; 5th, the Iyræ, who train their horses to lie on their bellies, whilst they shoot the game from a tree; 6th, inclining eastward are a Scythian race who seceded from the Royal Scythians.
- 23 The Argippæi.—To this point the country is level and deep-soiled, but beyond it is rugged and stony. Here, at the foot of lofty mountains [the Altai range] live the Argippæi, who are all bald from their birth; have snub noses and long chins; speak a distinct language, but wear Scythian costume; subsist on the fruit Pontic, drinking its black juice and making cakes of its pulp; and live beneath a tree, over which in winter they stretch a thick woollen cloth, which they remove in summer. They are not a warlike people, but accounted sacred, and ad-
- 24 just their neighbours' differences. Scythians go as far as the Argippæi, requiring seven interpreters to assist

them : so to this point the information may be credited ; but north of the Argippæi the country is unknown. The Argippæi say the mountains are peopled by men with goats' feet, and beyond them by men who sleep six months in the year, but this Herodotus does not credit. Eastward of the Argippæi are the Issidones, but all northward of these two is totally unknown.

The Issedones and Arimaspi.—The Issedones eat the flesh of their deceased fathers with that of animals. They preserve the skull, and plate it with gold, as an ornament for their yearly sacrifices. They are honest, and the women have equal authority with the men. They say that above them are the Arimaspi, (one-eyed men, "Arima" being the Scythian for one, and "Spou" for eye,) and the gold-watching gryphons (iii. 116).

Climate.—Through all this country the winter is very hard for eight months in the year. The sea and Cimmerian Bosphorus both freeze, so that the Scythians within the slave trench lead their armies and waggons over the ice to invade the Sindians. In Scythia it rains and thunders only in summer, and earthquakes rarely occur ; their horses can bear the cold, but not their mules nor asses. The oxen have no horns, which arises from the cold, as horns grow rapidly in hot climates. See Homer's *Odyssey*, [Lib. IV. v. 85,] "And Libya, where the rams soon shoot their horns." It is wonderful that they cannot breed mules in Elis : they themselves say it is because of a curse. Herodotus thinks that the feathers of Scythia are only snow, and that the northern regions are uninhabitable, because of the severity of the winter.

The Hyperboreans are unknown to all except the Issedones, but Hesiod mentions them, also Homer in the *Epigoni*, if he composed those verses. The Delians say that the Hyperboreans brought certain sacred offerings wrapped in straw to the Scythians, which were then passed on to the Adriatic ; then by the Dodonæans, the first of the Greeks, to the Maliaç Gulf ; then to Eubœa ; and then from town to town to Carystus ; then, passing by Andros, to Tenos, and at last to Delos.

Story of the two virgins, Hyperoche, and Laodice.—The Delians add to the above account, that at first two

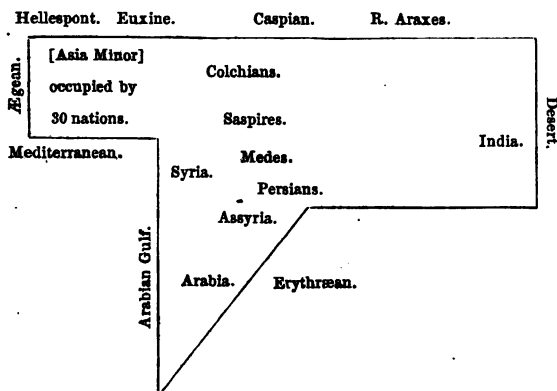
- virgins, Hyperoche and Laodice, were sent as bearers of the gifts, with five citizens as attendants, who are now called Perpherees, and greatly honoured at Delos. These never returned, and the Hyperboreans subsequently sent their offerings as above described. Herodotus himself
- 34 crifice to Artemis without wheat-straw. In honour of these two Hyperborean virgins, who died at Delos, the young Delians cut off their hair; the virgins twining it round a spindle before marriage, and placing it on their tomb, and the youths twining theirs round a plant and doing the same.
- 35 **Story of the two more ancient virgins, Arge and Opis.**—The Delians also say that before these, two other Hyperborean virgins, Arge and Opis, came to Delos, bringing a tribute to Eilithya [*Lucina*], which their countrywomen had agreed to pay for an easy delivery. Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves, and accordingly the women pay them peculiar honours, collect contributions for them, and invoke them in a hymn by Olen the Lycian, who composed the other ancient hymns sung in Delos. The ashes of the thighs of victims sacrificed are strewed on the sepulchre of these two virgins, which is behind the temple towards the east, and near the banquetting room of the Ceians.
- 36 **Ridiculous notions of the ocean flowing round the world, etc.**—Herodotus will not tell the story of Abaris, an Hyperborean, who carried an arrow round the earth without eating. If however there be Hyperboreans, [men beyond the north,] there must also be Hypernotians [men beyond the south]. Herodotus laughs at persons making maps of the world, without knowledge to guide them, tracing the ocean running round the earth, and the earth itself circular, as if it had been turned in a lathe, and with Asia as large as Europe. (*Continued at c. 46.*)

§ *Three quarters of the World, chap. 37—45.*

- 37 **1st, Asia.**—Central Asia is occupied by nations reckoning from the Erythræan Sea at the south; 1st, the Persians; 2nd, Medes; 3rd, Saspîres; and 4th, Colchians, who extend to the

Herodotus's
notion of Asia.

Northern Sea and mouth of the Phasis. Westward of 38 these four nations are two vast tracts. The first [Asia Minor] begins on the north at the river Phasis, and stretches along the Euxine and Hellespont to Sigæum; its western side runs along the Ægean; and its southern from Cape Triopium along the Myriandric Gulf. This 39 tract is peopled by 30 nations. The second or southern tract runs on its western side along the Phœnician and Syrian coast, cuts through the isthmus by the canal of Darius, and stretches along the Arabian Gulf; its southern side is washed by the Erythræan. Eastward of the 40 four nations is the Erythræan, and on the north the Caspian and Araxes. Asia is inhabited as far as India, but all beyond is desert.



*Plan of the idea Herodotus entertained of Asia.**

2nd, Lybia, and 3rd, Europe.—Libya is 41 a vast tract near Egypt. The isthmus [of Suez] between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf is only 100,000 orgyæ or 1000 stadia across [125 miles]. Europe is as long as Asia and Lybia, but 42 much broader; for Lybia is known to be surrounded by the sea, having, with the exception of the isthmus [of Suez],

Herodotus's
notion of Africa
and Europe.

* For a further explanation I must again refer the reader to my Geography of Herodotus.

been circumnavigated by the Phœnicians, by command of Necos king of Egypt, after he had finished digging the canal from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf (ii. 158).

- Circumnavigation of Libya.**—These Phœnicians started from the Red Sea, [Arabian Gulf,] and sailed for two years, landing in the autumn, and sowing wheat and awaiting the harvest. In the 3rd year they doubled the Pillars and arrived in Egypt, saying what appears incredible to Herodotus, that in their circumnavigation
 43 they had the sun on their right. The Carthaginians say that Sataspes, one of the Achæmenidæ, was sentenced to be impaled by Xerxes, for violating a daughter of Zopyrus, but reprieved on condition of sailing round Libya. He started from Egypt with a crew of Carthaginians, passed the Pillars and Cape Solois, but after proceeding some months, returned to Egypt, and told Xerxes that he had passed a land of pigmies, dressed in date-leaves, and was compelled to return, because his ship was stopped. Sataspes was disbelieved and impaled. His eunuch then ran to Samos with great wealth, which a Samian detained. Herodotus knows his name, but purposely conceals it.

- 44 **Asia explored by Scylax.**—A great part
 Course of of Asia was explored, when Darius directed
 the Indus. Scylax of Caryanda to embark at Caspatyrus and Pactyica, and see where the Indus discharged itself. Scylax and the others accordingly sailed down the Indus, which runs towards the east, until they reached the sea; they then sailed westward for 30 months, and at length arrived at the spot from which the Phœnicians had started to circumnavigate Libya. Darius then subdued the Indians and frequented this sea. Thus Asia, except at the far east, became known, and its
 45 similarity to Libya discovered. The north and eastern boundaries of Europe are undiscovered, but it is known to be longer than the other continents.

Origin of the names of Europe, Libya, and Asia.—Herodotus wonders why the earth received three female names, and why the Nile and Phasis, or as some say, the Tanais, and the Cimmerian ferries, were chosen as boundaries. The Greeks say that Libya is named from Libya,

a native woman, and Asia from the wife of Prometheus; but the Lydians say that Asia was named from Asias, son of Cotys, grandson of Manes, (i. 7,) from whom a tribe in Sardis is also called Asian. No one knows whether Europe is encircled by the sea, nor after whom it is called, unless after Europa of Tyre, but she was an Asiatic woman and never touched Europe.

Character of the nations on the Euxine.—

The nations on the Euxine, except Scythia, are most ignorant, nor has any learned man been heard of amongst them, except the Scythians and Anacharsis. The Scythians wisely secure themselves from attack by having no cities nor fortresses, living on their cattle, and dwelling in waggons, being all good horsemen and archers. The country is fitted for this practice, being level and fruitful, and having as many rivers as there are canals in Egypt.

Southern
Russia
in
Europe.

46

Eight Scythian rivers.—Scythia is intersected by eight principal rivers, viz. the Ister, Tyras, Hypanis, Borysthenes, Panticapes, Hypacyris, Gerrhus, and Tanais.

1st, The Ister, [or Danube,] which is the largest of all rivers, and five other Scythian rivers fall into it, viz.

1. Porata, called Pyretos by the Greeks; 2. Tiarantus; 3. Ararus; 4. Naparis; 5. Ordessus. The following other rivers also flow into it, viz. The Maris flows from the Agathyrsi; the Atlas, Auras, Tibisis, from Mount Hæmus; the Athrys, Noes, and Artanes, from Thrace; the Scios, from the Pæonians and Mount Rhodope; the Angrus, from Illyria,—flowing into the Brongus, and the Brongus into the Ister; and the rivers Carpis and Alpis from above the Umbrici. The Ister rises among the Celtæ, which is the most westerly nation next to the Cynetæ, and runs all through Europe, (ii. 33,) and by reason of these tributary streams is greater than the Nile. It keeps its level, because of the melted snow and violent rains in summer, which make up for evaporations, and the little rain in winter.

2nd, The Tyras, [or Dniester,] which flows from a large lake, dividing Scythia from the Neuri; at its mouth are Greek settlers, called Tyritæ.

- 52 **3rd, The Hypanis,** [or Bog,] which flows from a Scythian lake. Its waters are shallow and sweet for five days' journey, but from that point to the sea, which is four days' journey, they are made bitter by the spring *Exampæus*, or *Sacred Ways*, which divides the Scythian husbandmen from the Alazones. The Tyras and Hypanis almost approach in the land of the Alazones, but afterwards separate widely.
- 53 **4th, The Borysthenes,** [or Dnieper,] which is next in size to the Ister, and the most beneficial river except the Nile. It flows through fertile pastures, produces plenty of fish and clear water, excellent grain on its banks, and abundance of salt at its mouths; also large fishes without bones [sturgeons]. Up to Gerrhus, a 40 days' voyage, it is known to come from the north, but higher up it is unknown, and its sources with those of the Nile, and of these two rivers only, are unknown to Herodotus and to all the Greeks. Near the sea it joins the Hypanis and falls into a marsh. The space between these two rivers is called the promontory of Hippoleon; here stands a temple to Ceres, beyond which on the Hypanis dwell the Borysthenitæ.
- 54 **5th, The Panticapes,** which flows from a northern lake through Hylæa into the Borysthenes: between these two rivers dwell the Scythian husbandmen.
- 55 **6th, The Hypacyris,** which flows from a lake through the Scythian nomads, and falls into the sea near Carcinitis, skirting on the right Hylæa and the race-course of Achilles.
- 56 **7th, The Gerrhus,** which branches from the Borysthenes, divides the Nomadic and Royal Scythians, and falls into the Hypacyris.
- 57 **8th, The Tanais,** [or Don,] which flows from a vast lake into the Palus Mæotis, which divides the Royal Scythians and Sauromatæ, receiving on its way the river Hyrgis. The Scythian grass is most productive of bile in cattle.
- 59 **Scythian gods.**—The Scythians worship Hestia most, then Zeus, and Gæa, whom they consider to be his wife; and then Apollo, the heavenly Aphrodite, Heracles, and Ares. The Royal Scythians sacrifice also to Poseidon.

In the Scythian language Hestia is called Tabiti ; Gæa, Apia ; Apollo, Etosyrus ; the heavenly Aphrodite, Artimpasa ; and Poseidon, Thamimasadas.

Sacrifices.—The Scythians erect no altars, temples, 60
nor images, except to Ares. One mode of sacrifice is adopted by all. The victim stands with its fore feet tied. The sacrificer comes behind and throws it down by pulling the cord, and invokes the god whilst the animal is falling. He then twists the cord round its neck, and tightens it with a stick until the beast is strangled. He kindles no fire, and performs no ceremonies and libations, but prepares to cook the meat, and as the country is destitute of wood they adopt this contrivance. They first 61
flay the victim, and then strip the flesh from the bones and place it in cauldrons like the Lesbian bowls, but larger, and burn the bones beneath. If they have no cauldrons they place the flesh in the animal's paunch, and boil it the same way. After it is cooked the sacrificer offers, by throwing parts of the flesh and intestines before him. They sacrifice other cattle, but chiefly horses.

Sacred heaps of faggots erected to Ares.—In every 62
district where the magistrates assemble, is erected a structure of faggots, sacred to Ares, which is three stadia [three furlongs] in length and breadth, but less in height ; and every year 150 waggon loads are added to replace what are decayed by the weather. On this heap each tribe places an old iron scimitar to represent Ares, and to these scimitars they annually sacrifice cattle and horses. They also sacrifice one in a hundred of their prisoners, pouring wine over their heads, and cutting their throats over a bowl, and pouring their blood over the scimitar. This is done on the structure, and they then go below and cut off the right shoulders of the victims, and throw them into the air, letting the arm remain where it falls. Swine they never use nor rear. 63

Military customs, scalping, flaying, etc.—The Scy- 64
thians drink the blood of the first enemy they kill, and carry the heads of all they slay to the king, a head alone entitling them to share the booty. Heads are scalped by making a circular incision round the ears, and shaking the skull from the skin, from which the flesh is then

scraped with a rib of an ox, and made supple with the hands, and used as a napkin. Each man hangs these skin napkins on his bridle, and whoever has the most is considered the most valiant. Cloaks are also made of these scalps, covers for quivers from the skin of the right hand, and horse-cloths of whole skins; for the human skin is both thick and shining, and of matchless whiteness.

- 65 **Drinking customs, skull-goblets, etc.**—The heads of their greatest enemies, and even those of their relatives with whom they have been at variance, they make into cups, sawing off all below the eyebrows, cleansing the skulls, and then covering them with leather, the rich Scythians also gilding the inside. They produce these heads to strangers as proofs of their bravery, and then tell the
- 66 story of the contest. Once a year each governor of a district mingles a bowl of wine for those only who have captured an enemy. Those who have not thus qualified themselves are accounted to be disgraced, and those who have killed many enemies have two bowls.
- 67 **Soothsayers and Ennarees.**—The Scythian soothsayers are numerous. They divine by throwing down bundles of willow rods, and placing each rod apart; and then utter their predictions whilst putting them together again one by one, and this is the national mode. The Ennarees, or Androgyni, (i. 105,) twist three pieces of linden bark round their fingers, and utter a response whilst untwisting it.
- 68 **Divinations when the king is sick.**—The most solemn oath amongst the Scythians is to swear by the royal hearth, and when the king is sick, it is supposed to be occasioned by some one swearing falsely; when he is ill, therefore, he sends for the three most famous prophets, who, after divining in the above manner, generally charge some citizen with the perjury. The accused is immediately arrested, but of course denies the charge. Six other prophets are then sent for. If they confirm the accusation, the criminal is beheaded, and his property divided amongst the first three: if they acquit him, other prophets are called in, and others after them, and if then the majority acquit him the first three are put to death.
- 69 **Execution of false prophets.**—False prophets are thus

executed. A waggon yoked with oxen is filled with fag-gots. The prophets, bound and gagged, are placed in the midst. Fire is then applied and the frightened oxen driven off, some escaping half burnt, and others being consumed with the seers. The male children of the criminals are also put to death, but the females are uninjured.

Contracts.—The Scythians make their solemn con- 70 tracts by mingling their blood with wine in a large earthen bowl, then dipping a scimitar, arrow, battle-axe, and javelin into it, and then offering prayers and drinking the mixture.

Burial of kings.—The Scythian kings are buried 71 amongst the Gherri, to which nation the Borysthenes is navigable, where they dig a large square hole. The corpse is enveloped in wax and filled with bruised cypress, aromatics, parsley, and anise-seed, and then carried in a chariot to the different provinces, the people of each following it as it is brought to them, and wounding themselves, like the royal Scythians, viz. cutting off part of their ear, shaving off their hair, wounding themselves on their arms, lacerating their forehead and nose, and driving arrows through their left hand, till they at length reach the sepulchres amongst the Gherri, the most remote Scythian nation. They then place the corpse in the hole on a bed of leaves, fix a spear on each side, and lay pieces of wood over it covered with mats; and in the remainder of the hole they bury one of the king's concubines, with his cupbearer, cook, groom, page, courier, and horses, which are strangled as samples of his property; they also put in firstlings of every thing else, and several golden goblets, using no silver nor brass; and over all they heap up a large mound.

Cavalry figures, round the royal sepulchre.—All the 72 royal servants are free Scythians, for they have no slaves, and one year after the king's death the people strangle 50 of his most useful servants and horses. The bodies are then embowelled, cleansed, filled with chaff, and sewn up. A stake is run through each horse from tail to neck, and another through each man. The men are placed upon the horses, their stakes fitting into a hole

made in the horses' stakes. The figures are then mounted on the insides of two half-wheels, and elevated on posts, so that the legs are all suspended in the air. The two half-wheels support the horse's stomach, one under his shoulders, and one under his hinder parts. Each of these figures is fastened to another post, and all are thus arranged round the tumulus.

- 78 **Burial of citizens.**—On the death of any other Scythian, his body for 40 days is taken about in a chariot by his nearest relations to visit all his friends, who each receive the corpse and entertain its followers, and place before the deceased a portion of every dish.

Vapour baths of hemp-seed for purifications.—After the burial the Scythians anoint and wash their heads, and then, as they will not bathe their bodies in water, they purify them in the following manner. They make a tent by stretching thick woollen cloths over three sticks fixed in the ground, and inclining towards each other.

- 74 Beneath this tent they place a vessel containing red-hot stones, upon which they place the seed of a kind of hemp, which grows in their country, and much resembles flax, only it is thicker and taller, and the Thracians make garments from it so like linen that none but experienced
- 75 persons can see the difference. The stones make this seed smoke and produce a steam greater than any Greek vapour bath, and it intoxicates the Scythians (i. 202). The women make a paste of pounded cypress wood, cedar, and incense-tree mixed with water, which, smeared over the face and body, leaves it on the second day clean, bright, and scented.

- 76 **Hatred of foreign customs.**—The Scythians hate foreign customs, especially Grecian, which is proved by the stories of Anacharsis and Scylas.

Anacharsis shot by his brother Saulius for worshipping Cybele.—Anacharsis, when returning home after a long travel, sailed through the Hellespont and saw the people of Cyzicus celebrating a festival to the mother of the gods; and he then vowed to sacrifice and institute a similar vigil if he reached Scythia in safety. Accordingly, on returning to Scythia he retired to Hylæa, and performed the ceremonies with a tambourine in his hand and images

on his person. A Scythian seeing him, told the king, Saulius, of it, who then and there shot Anarcharsis and killed him, and the Scythians now say that they do not know him. Herodotus heard from Timnes, guardian of Ariapithes, that Anacharsis was paternal uncle of Idanthysus, king of Scythia, and the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Anacharsis was therefore killed by his own brother, for Idanthysus was son of Saulius. The Peloponnesians however say that Anacharsis was sent abroad by the Scythian king and became a disciple of the Greeks; and on his return said that all the Greeks were employed in acquiring wisdom except the Lacedæmonians, who, however, were only able to speak and hear wisely. But this is a pleasant invention.

Scylas killed by his brother Octamasades for celebrating the Dionysiac mysteries.—Many years afterwards, Scylas, son of Ariapithes, the king of Scythia, met with a similar fate. His mother was an Istrian woman, and taught him the Greek language and letters. His father was slain by the treachery of Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and he then obtained the throne and married his father's wife, Opœa, a native, and by her he had a son, Oricus. He was, however, still dissatisfied with Scythian manners, and inclined more to Greek usages. Whenever he led his army against the Borysthenitæ, who profess to be Milesians, he left his forces in the suburbs and stayed a month or two in the city, adopting the Greek dress, living, and sacrifices, whilst the gates were guarded that none of his troops should see him. He also married a woman of the city, and built a palace there, surrounded by sphinxes and griffins, carved in white marble. He was very desirous of being initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus, when the god hurled a bolt and burnt down his palace; but in spite of this he accomplished his initiation. Now the Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of the Dionysiac orgies, as they think it unreasonable to worship a god who drives men to madness. Accordingly one of the Borysthenitæ now taunted the Scythians with the initiation of Scylas, and placing the chief Scythians on a tower, showed them Scylas passing by as a Bacchanal. This they regarded as a great calamity, and told to the army; and on their

return home the Scythians set up Octamasades, brother of Scylas, who then fled to Thrace. Octamasades then marched against Sitalces, king of Thrace, who gave up Scylas without a battle, upon receiving his own brother, who was a prisoner, in exchange. Sitalces then drew off his forces, but Octamasades beheaded Scylas on the spot.

- 81 **Population of Scythia.**—Herodotus could only obtain contradictory accounts of the population of Scythia. At Exampæus (c. 52) however he saw a brass cauldron, which was six times as large as the bowl at the mouth of the Pontus, dedicated by Pausanias. It was six digits [nearly five inches] thick, and would hold 600 amphoræ, [more than 5000 gallons,] and was made of arrow-heads; every Scythian being compelled by king Ariantas, on pain of death, to bring one, as he was desirous of learning the population of Scythia. Scythia displays no wonders beyond her rivers. Near the Tyras river, however, is shown the footstep of Hercules, two cubits [three feet.] long, on a rock. (*Continued at chap. 99.*)

III. Invasion of Scythia by Darius. No. II. chap. 83—98.

- 83 **Darius commences his expedition.**—Darius, preparing to march against Scythia, ordered some to furnish troops, others, ships, and others to bridge the Thracian Bosphorus. His brother Artabanus tried in vain to dissuade him from the war, by representing the poverty of Scythia, but Darius at length set out from Susa. Course from Susa, over the Thracian Bosphorus, through Thrace to Scythia. Ceobasus, a Persian, having three sons enlisted, begged that one might be left, and the king replied, like a friend, that he would leave them all, but soon undeceived the father by ordering all the three to be executed on the spot.
- 84 Scythia, but Darius at length set out from Susa. Ceobasus, a Persian, having three sons enlisted, begged that one might be left, and the king replied, like a friend, that he would leave them all, but soon undeceived the father by ordering all the three to be executed on the spot.
- 85 From Susa Darius marched to Chalcedon, on the Thracian Bosphorus, where a bridge had been thrown, and sailed in a war-ship to the Cyanean isles, which the Greeks say used to float. Here, seated in the temple, he viewed the Euxine.

Dimensions of the Euxine, Thracian Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespont.—Reckoning that in a summer day a vessel will make 70,000 orgyæ, [$17\frac{1}{2}$ miles,] and 60,000 [15 miles] in the night, and that from the mouth of the

Euxine to the Phasis is a nine days' and eight nights' voyage, the extreme length of the Euxine would be 1,110,000 orgyæ, or 11,100 stadia [1387½ miles]. From Sindica to Themiscyra on the river Thermodon, the broadest part of the Euxine, is a voyage of three days and two nights, making 330,000 orgyæ, or 3500 stadia [437½ miles]. The Euxine is joined by a strait 120 stadia [15 miles] long and four stadia [½ a mile] broad to the Propontis,—a sea 1400 stadia [172½ miles] long and 500 stadia [62½ miles] broad, which falls into the Hellespont,—another strait 400 stadia [50 miles] long and seven stadia [nearly one mile] broad at the narrowest. The Hellespont falls into the Ægean. Herodotus mea- 86
sured these seas himself. Lake Mæotis falls into the Euxine, and is not much less.

Bridge and pillars at the Bosphorus.—Darius having 87
viewed the Euxine, sailed back to the bridge which had been built by Mandrocles of Samos. He erected two white stone pillars on the Bosphorus with inscriptions in Greek and Assyrian, detailing all the nations in his army, consisting of 700,000 horse and foot, and 600 ships. The Byzantines afterwards brought these pillars to their city, and used them in building the altar to the Orthosian Artemis, except one block, which was left near the temple of Dionysus in Byzantium, covered with Assyrian characters. Herodotus conjectures that the site of the bridge was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the mouth. Darius was so pleased with this bridge of ships 88
that he gave Mandrocles ten of every thing, with part of which Mandrocles painted a picture of the bridge, with Darius on his throne, and the army passing over, and dedicated it in the temple of Hera at Samos, with the following inscription :

“Mandrocles bridged the fishy Bosphorus,
And this memorial to Hera gave.
Thus, having pleased Darius, he has earned
Glory for Samos, for himself a crown.”

Darius sends Ionians to bridge the Ister.—Darius 89
now entered Europe, and ordered the Ionians to sail up the Euxine to the Ister, and make a bridge of boats, and await his coming. The Ionians, Æolians, and Helles-

pontines then sailed for two days up the Ister, and bridged its neck at the point where its several mouths separate.

Marches through Thrace: the river Tearus. — Meantime Darius marched through Thrace, and encamped for three days at the 38 sources of the Tearus, which is said to be the best of all rivers, especially for its healing qualities. Its springs are both hot and cold, and

- 90 gush from the same rock, and are all two days' journey from both Heræum, near Perinthus, and Apollonia, on the Euxine. The Tearus cures the itch in men and horses ; it falls into the Contadesdus, the Contadesdus into the Agrianes, and the Agrianes into the Hebrus, which falls
91 into the sea near Ænos. Darius liked the Tearus, and erected a pillar with this inscription :

“The springs of the Tearus yield the best and finest water of all rivers ; and a man, the best and finest of all men, came to them, leading an army against the Scythians, Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians and of all the continent.”

- 92 Darius then reached the river Artiscus, which flows through the Odryasæ, and caused every man to throw one stone on a particular spot, and thus left vast heaps.
- 93 **Conquers the Getæ.**—The first people conquered by Darius before reaching the Ister were the Getæ, who made an obstinate resistance ; for the Thracians of Salmydessus, and those above Apollonia and Mesambria, called Scyrmiadæ, and the Nypsæi surrendered without fighting.
- 94 The Getæ are the bravest and most just of the Thracians. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and imagine that when they die they join their god Zalmoxis. Every five years they send a messenger to Zalmoxis, some holding three javelins, and others throwing him upon the points, giving him their commissions before he dies. If the messenger is not killed they consider him a criminal, and send another. They only believe in Zalmoxis, whom some believe to be identical with Gebeleizis, and they threaten him, and shoot arrows upwards if he thunders.
- 95 **Account of Zalmoxis.**—The Greeks about the Hellespont and Pontus say that Zalmoxis was the slave of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, at Samos, and having obtained his freedom, he acquired great wealth, and re-

turned home. Here he found the gross and wretched way of living amongst the Thracians contrasted with the Ionian manners, to which he had been accustomed. He then built a hall, where he entertained the chief of his country, and assured them of immortality in a happier state, and subsequently having prepared a subterranean chamber, he is said to have lived in it for three years, and then to have appeared again after being mourned 96 as dead. Herodotus rather doubts this story, for Zalmoxis must have lived before Pythagoras was born.

Darius crosses the Ister.—Darius reached the Ister, 97 crossed over with his army, and ordered the Ionians to unmoor the bridge, and follow with their ships ; but being advised by Coes, leader of the Mitylæans, to let the bridge remain, by which they might return if successful, or secure a retreat if defeated, he altered his mind, and 98 giving a thong with 60 knots to the Ionian leaders, he commanded them to watch the bridge, and untie one knot each day, and when all were untied, to return to their homes. (*Continued at chap. 118.*)

IV. (*Digress.*) *Description of Scythia and its neighbouring states. No. II.*

Geographical extent of Scythia.—Thrace 99 projects from Scythia. Scythia begins at the Ister and runs along the sea to Carcinitis, where the country is mountainous and juts into the Euxine, and is peopled by the Tauri as far as Chersonesus Trachea. Ancient Scythia is the more southern region between the Ister and Carcinitis. The line of Scythian coast takes two directions, one towards the south, another towards the east, similar to the coasts of Attica. [Herodotus supposed that Crimea extended farther than reality into the Euxine.] The Tauri therefore inhabit parts of Scythia, just as if an alien people and not the Athenians occupied the Sunium promontory from Anaphlystus to Thoricus, or as if another nation cut off Iapygia from Brundisium to Tarentum, and occupied the foreland. The Scythians possess the country above Taurica, and 100 the regions along the Eastern Sea ; and westward of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and Lake Mæotis, as far as the

Southern
Russia in
Europe.

- Tanais. From the Ister Scythia stretches inland, its upper parts being enclosed by the Agathyrsi, the Neuri, the Androphagi, and the Melanchlæni. Scythia is quadrangular, with two parts adjoining the sea ; and stretches inland and along the coast, to equal distances, viz. it is 10 days' journey from the Ister to the Borysthenea, and 10 days' from the Borysthenea along the Lake Mæotis, making 20 days' of sea-coast ; and it is also 20 days' from the sea to the Melanchlæni. Computing a day's journey at 200 stadia, [25 miles,] the extent of Scythia either way would be 4000 stadia [500 miles].
- 102 **Scythians send to the neighbouring nations for aid.**—The Scythians, aware of their inferiority to Darius, sent to the bordering nations, viz. the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni and Budini, and Sauromata, whose kings accordingly assembled in council.
- 103 **1st, The Tauri sacrifice all shipwrecked mariners and Greeks to the virgin, who, they say, is Iphigenia,** daughter of Agamemnon, striking their head with a club and throwing their body down a precipice, on which the temple is built. They then impale the head. Some say the body is not thrown down, but buried. They live by war and rapine, and fix the heads of their enemies on long poles above their houses.
- 104 **2nd, The Agathyrsi are effeminate, wear much gold,** and live promiscuously that they may be all of one family ; otherwise their manners are like the Thracians.
- 105 **3rd, The Neuri observe Scythian customs.** The generation before Darius, they were driven from their country by serpents, and settled amongst the Budini. They appear to be magicians, for it is said by the Scythians and Greeks in Scythia, that every year each one becomes a wolf for some days ; but though they support this assertion by an oath, Herodotus does not believe it.
- 106 **4th, The Androphagi have the wildest manners,** acknowledge no law nor justice, and are the only cannibals amongst these tribes. They are nomads, and wear the Scythian garb, and speak a peculiar language.
- 107 **5th, The Melanchlæni wear black garments, whence** their name, and follow Scythian usages.
- 108 **6th, The Geloni and Budini.**—The Budini are a great

and populous people, painting themselves deep blue and red. They have a wooden town, Gelonus, each wall extending 30 stadia [$3\frac{1}{4}$ mile] and containing Greek temples, adorned after the Greek manner with images, altars, and shrines, and they celebrate the feasts and mysteries of Dionysus; for the Geloni were originally Greeks, who, being expelled from the ports, settled amongst the Budini, and speak a mixture of Scythian and Greek. The Budini differ from the Geloni, for the former are aborigines, nomads, and eat vermin; whilst the latter till the land, eat corn, have gardens, and differ in features and complexion. By the Greeks however the Budini are erroneously called Geloni. The country is woody, and includes a large lake surrounded by reeds, and a morass which produces otters, beavers, and other square-faced animals, whose skins are sewn as borders to cloaks, and whose testes cure uterine diseases. 109

7th, The Sauromatæ sprung from the Scythians and Amazons.—The Sauromatæ are said to have thus originated. After the Greeks had conquered the Amazons on the Thermodon, they sailed away with three ship-loads of prisoners. The Scythians call these Amazons *Oioπnara*, which means manslaughterers in the Greek. When out at sea the Amazons massacred them all, but not understanding navigation were afterwards driven to Cremni, a town on Lake Mæotis, belonging to the Scythians. Here they seized horses and plundered lands, till the Scythians, thinking them to be young men, fought them, and discovered their sex by their slain. Some Scythian youths then gradually made their acquaintance, and after marrying them, wished them to join the Scythian nation, for the women soon learnt the language of the men, though the latter could not attain the language of their wives. The Amazons refused the request, as their peculiar customs would prevent their living with the Scythian women; but they prevailed on their husbands to fetch their property, and remove three days' journey eastward, over the Tanais, and three days' northward from Lake Mæotis. There they settled, and still remain. The Sauromatæ women still hunt on horseback, join in war, and wear men's garb. Their language is a corruption of the Scy- 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117

thian. No virgin marries till she has killed an enemy, so that some die old maids. *End of description of Scythia.*

*V. Invasion of Scythia by Darius. No. III.
chap. 118—144.*

- 118 **Result of the Scythian embassy.**—The kings of the above-mentioned seven nations being assembled, (c. 102,) the Scythian ambassadors informed them of the invasion
119 of Darius, and begged for aid. The kings divided on the question, when the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ promised assistance, but the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and Tauri refused it unless their own country were invaded; because the Scythians had been the first and only aggressors (c. 1).
- 120 **Scythians divide their army.**—When the Scythians heard this, they resolved not to give battle, but retreat, and fill up the wells and destroy the herbage in their way. They divided their forces into two divisions. The first was composed of Royal Scythians, under Scopasis, to which joined the Sauromatæ; and these were to retire before the Persians along the Paulus Mæotis to the Tanais, and then if Darius returned they were to attack him in the rear. The second consisted of the two other squadrons of Royal Scythians, under Idanthysus and Taxacis, joined with the Geloni and Budini; and these were to keep one day's march in advance of Darius, and retire upon those nations who had refused succour, and implicate them in the war. Both bodies were then to return to Scythia, and attack the Persians as the council should decide.
- 121 **1st Division of Scythians retreat to the desert.**—The first division of Scythians having sent their waggons and
122 families northward, marched against the Persians, their outriders meeting them three days' march from the Ister. They then advanced one day's march a-head and destroyed the produce, being followed by Darius over the Tanais, and
123 through the Sauromatæ and Budini, where he burnt the wooden town of Gelonus. Beyond the Budini is a desert of seven days' journey, and beyond that the Thyssagetæ, from amongst whom four rivers rise, and afterwards fall

into Lake Mæotis, viz. the Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, and Syrgis. When Darius reached the desert, he encamped 124 on the river Oarus, and built eight large forts, 60 stadia from each other, and whilst thus engaged the Scythians made a circuit and returned to Scythia; upon which Darius left the forts half finished and marched westward, believing that these Scythians composed the whole nation, and had fled.

2nd Division retreat to the Melanchlæni, Androphagi, 125 and Neuri.—Upon entering Scythia, Darius met the two combined divisions of Scythians, and pursued them whilst they kept one day's march a-head. The Scythians then (c. 120) entered the lands of the Melanchlæni, where Scythians and Persians both ravaged the country. They then harassed the Androphagi and Neuri, but were warned off by the Agathyrsi and returned to Scythia. The Melanchlæni, Androphagi, and Neuri had fled to the northern desert.

Darius sends to Idanthysrus.—Darius, weary of the 126 war, sent to king Idanthysrus, desiring him either to fight or submit by bringing earth and water. Idanthysrus re- 127 plied, that as the Scythians had nothing to fear, they would not fight unless he disturbed the tombs of their ancestors; that the only masters they acknowledged were Zeus and Hestia; and that instead of sending him earth and water, he bade him weep, which was a Scythian saying.

1st Division proceed to Ister bridge, and 2nd Division 128 harass Darius.—The Scythians, indignant at Darius mentioning servitude, sent the first division under Scopasis to persuade the Ionians to break the Ister bridge. The 2nd division, under Idanthysrus and Taxacis, then harassed the Persians at their meals; drove their cavalry on their infantry; and attacked them at night: but the Persians sometimes triumphed, for their mules and bray- 129 ing asses terrified the Scythian cavalry. The Scythians frequently left herds of cattle for the Persians to take, in 130 order to tempt Darius to remain. At last Darius was 131 reduced to extremities, whereupon they sent him a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, by a messenger, who re- 132 fused to explain their meaning. The Persians held a

- council, when Darius thought they meant earth and water; the mouse representing earth, the frog the water, the bird the horses, and the arrows the Scythian power: but Gobryas, one of the seven, (iii. 70,) thought they meant that unless the Persians could fly like birds, hide like mice, or leap through lakes like frogs, they would never return, but be pierced by the arrows. Meantime the 1st division, under Scopasis, arrived at the Ister bridge, and urged the Ionians to depart at the end of the 60 days, which being agreed to, they returned.
- 134 **Darius retreats.**—The 2nd division, under Idanthyrus and Taxacis, drew up in battle array, but left their ranks to pursue a hare which ran between the two armies. Darius then saw their contempt for him, and by the advice of Gobryas he retired by night, leaving his invalid
- 135 soldiers with fires burning and the asses tied, that he might reach the Ister bridge before the Scythians broke
- 136 it up or the Ionians departed. The Scythians learning this next morning from the invalids, set off for the bridge with all their force; and as the Persians were chiefly infantry and ignorant of the roads, they reached it long before them, and again urged the Ionians to break up the bridge, and depart, and to thank the gods and the Scythians for their freedom.
- 137 **Ionian council at Ister bridge.**—The Ionians then held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, and tyrant of the Chersonesus, seconded the Scythians; but Histæus the Milesian opposed him by declaring that their only defence from democracy lay in the maintenance of the king's
- 138 power. The council consisted of

TYRANTS OF THE HELLESPONT.

Daphnis of Abydos,
 Hippoclus of Lampsacus,
 Herophantus of Parium,
 Metrodorus of Proconnesus,
 Aristagoras of Cyzicus,
 Ariston of Byzantium.

TYRANTS OF IONIA.

Strattus of Chios,
 Æaces of Samos,
 Laodamas of Phocæa,
 Histæus of Miletus.

TYRANT OF ÆOLIA.

Aristagoras of Cyma.

- 139 These followed Histæus, and deceived the Scythians by breaking down part of the bridge, and by Histæus

thanking them in the name of all for their good counsel, and advising them to return and attack the Persians. The Scythians again trusted to the Ionians, and wheeled back, but missed the Persians; because, having destroyed all the pasture and wells on one route, they thought that the Persians would take another, whereas Darius and his army had returned the same way they had entered Seythia.

Darius escapes over the Ister.—Darius reached the bridge at night, and finding it broken, was terrified lest the Ionians should have departed; but an Egyptian with a loud voice hailed Histieus, who repaired the bridge, and the Persians passed over. The Scythians therefore regard the Ionians as the basest of freemen or meanest of slaves.

Returns to Asia: leaves Megabazus in Europe.—Darius, marching through Thrace, reached Sestos, in the Chersonesus, and sailed from there to Asia, leaving Megabazus as general in Europe over an army of 80,000.

Route from
Scythia to
Susa.

Honours Megabazus.—Darius once honoured this man by saying to his brother Artabanus, that he would rather possess as many men like Megabazus as there were seeds in a pomegranate he was eating, than possess all Greece. This Megabazus immortalized himself amongst the Hellespontines by saying, when informed that the Chaldeonians had settled 17 years before the Byzantines, that the former must have been blind for choosing the worst site when they might have had the best. Megabazus now subdued all the Hellespontines who were not subject to the Persians.

VI. *History of Cyrene, chap. 145—166.*

Story of the Minyæ.—The Minyæ, or grand-children of the Argonauts, [B. C. 1180,] were driven from the island of Lemnos by those Pelasgi, who had violated the Athenian women of Brauron, (vi. 138,) and accordingly sailed to Lacedæmon, and encamped on Mount Taygetus. The Lacedæmonians sent to know who and whence they were, and learning their origin, sent again to ask what

PELOPON-
NESUS.
Lacedæmon.

- they wanted. They replied, that being expelled by the Pelasgi, they had come to their fathers, [the Lacedæmonians,] with whom they now begged leave to dwell. The Lacedæmonians knowing that the Tyndaridæ [Castor and Pollux, sons of Leda by Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon, and Zeus] had both sailed in the Argo, now received the Minyæ, gave them allotments, drafted them
 146 into their tribes, and intermarried. At length the Minyæ grew insolent, and claimed a share of royal power, and were cast into prison for execution at night, according to the Lacedæmonian custom. Their wives however being permitted to visit them, exchanged clothes, and the Minyæ escaped as women, and again settled on Taygetus.

- 147 **Migration of Theras, with part of the**
Ile of Thera, in the Ægean. **Minyæ, to Callista (Thera).—**At this time Theras, a Cadmean, uncle and ex-regent of kings Eurysthenes and Procles, refused to be ruled by his wards, and sailed to the island Callista, since called Thera. For eight generations this island had been peopled by the descendants of Membliares and other Phœnicians,
 148 whom Cadmus had left there when in quest of Europa. Theras got the Lacedæmonians to pardon the Minyæ on condition of taking them with him; but he was only accompanied by a part, for the majority expelled the Caucones and Paroreatæ, and settled in their country, and divided into six tribes, and founded six cities:—viz. Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixæ, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium, most of which were destroyed by the Eleans in the time
 149 of Herodotus. The son of Theras also refused to accompany him, and was called Oiolycus, because his father said that he left him as a sheep amongst wolves.

Origin of the Ægidæ.—To Oiolycus was born Ægeus, from whom are named the Ægidæ, a numerous tribe in Sparta, who in obedience to the oracle built a temple to the furies of Laius and Œdipus, to preserve the lives of their children.

- 150 **Theræan account: Grynus ordered to found a Libyan city, 648.**—To this point the Lacedæmonians and Theræans agree, but the Theræans alone add, that Grynus, king of Thera, and a descendant of Theras, went to Delphi to offer a hecatomb, and was ordered by the oracle

to found a city in Libya. He said he was too old, and pointed out Battus, a Minyan, as fit to do it instead; but as the Theraeans did not know where Libya lay, they neglected the oracle and returned home. For seven years afterwards no ruin fell in Thera, and all the trees but one perished, when the Theraeans again consulted the oracle, and were rebuked for their disobedience. The Theraeans then sent to Crete to know if any Cretans or foreigners there had ever reached Libya, and a purple dyer named Corobius, at the town of Itanus, told the messengers that he had been once driven by the winds to Platea, an island on the Libyan coast. 151

Corobius sent to Platea, 640: relieved by Colæus.—Corobius was then enticed to Thera, and from there sent to Platea with some Theraeans, who left him there with provisions for several months, whilst they returned to make known the discovery of the island. Corobius was reduced to great want from the non-return of his companions, but was relieved with a year's provision by Colæus, the master of a Samian vessel, bound for Egypt. 152

Samians under Colæus reach Tartessus.—The Samians were afterwards driven by the wind to Tartessus, beyond the Pillars, [Gibraltar,] previously an unknown port (i. 163); and from there they brought so valuable a cargo, that they realized larger profits than any Greeks had ever gained, except perhaps Sostratus of Ægina, with whom no one can compete. With six talents, [£1440,] which was the tenth of their gains, they dedicated a large brazen bowl in Hera's temple, surrounded with griffins' heads, and supported by three brass figures seven cubits [10½ feet] high, which first originated the alliance between the Cyrenæans and Theraeans, and the Samians. Tartessus in Spain.

Battus sent to Platea.—When the Theraeans, after leaving Corobius in Platea, announced in Thera that they had colonized a Libyan island, the Theraeans chose one from every family by lot throughout their seven provinces, and sent them in two 50-oared galleys under Battus to Platea. 153

Cyrenæan account of Battus, 666.—The Cyrenæans agree with the Theraeans in the rest of the story, but give 154

- a different account of Battus. They say that Etearchus, a king of Axus in Crete, had married a 2nd wife, who accused his daughter Phronima, by the 1st wife, of unchastity. Etearchus then gave Phronima to Themison, a Theræan merchant, to throw into the sea, as Themison had previously sworn to do whatever Etearchus desired. Themison evaded the oath by letting her down to the sea by ropes and drawing her up again, and then took her to
- 155 Thera. 'Here she became concubine to Polymnestus, and had a son called Battus because he stuttered, as both the Theræans and Cyrenæans say. Herodotus however thinks that he took the name after he arrived in Libya, because the Libyans call a king "Battus;" and because when he some time before consulted the Delphic oracle concerning his voice, the Pythian replied,

"BATTUS, you come to ask about your voice,
But Phœbus sends you to the Libyan shore,
To colonize the land which teems with sheep."

- Battus then asked how he should do this, but the Pythian only repeated the same answer, and he neglected the com-
- 156 mand until great calamities befell both him and the Theræans, and the latter, sending again to the oracle, were advised to join Battus, and found Cyrene in Libya. - The Theræans then sent off Battus to Libya in two 50-oared cutters, (c. 153,) but these returned. The Theræans however beat them off again, and they reached Platea [B. C. 640].

- 157 **Battus leaves Platea for Aziris.**—Having lived in Platea for two years without finding their fortunes improved, all the Theræan colonists but one sailed to Delphi to complain to the oracle, who thus replied :

"If you know sheep-abounding Libya—you
Who never have been there—better than I
Who have been : I must deem you wondrous wise."

Accordingly Battus left Platea and settled in Aziris, on the Libyan coast opposite, enclosed by hills on two sides and by a river on the third.

- 158 **Founds Cyrene, 632.**—At Aziris he and his companions stayed six years, but in the seventh the Libyans promised to lead them to a better situation, and took them westward,

NORTHERN
AFRICA.
—
Cyrene.

passing Irasa, the finest tract in the country, by night, lest the Greeks should see it, and at last pointing out a spring sacred to Apollo, telling them to settle there, as the sky was open. Here the Theræans founded Cyrene.

KINGS OF CYRENE.

Battus I., 640—600, reigned 40 years.

159

Arcesilaus I., 600—584, son of Battus I., reigned 16 years. During these two reigns the Cyrenæans did not increase in numbers.

Battus II., the Fortunate, 584.—The Pythia now urged all Greeks in the following words to join the Cyrenæans ;

“He that to lovely Libya goes too late,
Will, when the land is shared, repent his fate.”

A great multitude then assembled at Cyrene, and seized some lands belonging to neighbouring Libyans under king Adicran. Adicran and his Libyan subjects tendered their allegiance to Apries, king of Egypt, who thereupon sent an army against the Cyrenæans, which was so totally defeated in Irasa that Egypt rebelled (ii. 162).

Arcesilaus II., about 560, son of Battus II.—He quarrelled with his brothers, so the latter migrated, and founded Barca, and roused the Libyans against the Cyrenæans. Arcesilaus marched against the rebels and Libyans, who fled eastward with Arcesilaus in pursuit till they reached Leucon, when the Libyans turned back and slew 7000 of the Cyrenæans. Arcesilaus then fell sick, and was strangled by his brother Learchus, who was slain in his turn by Eryxo, wife of Arcesilaus.

160

Battus III., about 550, the lame son of Arcesilaus, succeeded. The Cyrenæans sent to Delphi, to inquire what government they should adopt, and were desired to procure an arbitrator from Mantinea in Arcadia, who accordingly sent Demonax. He divided the Cyrenæans into three tribes ; 1st, Theræans and their neighbours. 2nd, The Greeks, Peloponnesians, and Cretans. 3rd, Those from the Islands. He then reserved the priestly office and certain lands for the king, and restored to the people his former powers.

161

- 162 **Arcesilaus III., about 530**, son of Battus and Pherettime, succeeded. He refused to abide by Demonax, and demanded back the prerogatives of his ancestors. A sedition was raised, in which he was defeated, and fled to Samos, and his mother, Pherettime, to Salamis in Cyprus, where the king, Euclithon, the same who gave the curious censor to Delphi, gave her any thing she asked except troops. She accepted his presents, but said an army would be better. He then sent her a golden spindle, and distaff, and some wool, and when she made the same reply, said, "these are the gifts for women, not armies."
- 163 Meantime **Arcesilaus at Samos** levied an army of Samians, by promising land to each. He consulted the Delphic oracle, who told him, 1st, that Apollo gave him the government of Cyrene during four reigns of a Battus and four of an **Arcesilaus**—eight generations, and that he must not attempt more, but go home quietly; 2nd, that if he found amphoræ in the furnace he was not to bake them, but if he did, he was not to enter the water-girt place, otherwise he must die, together with the finest bull.
- 164 **Killed by the Cyrenæans.**—**Arcesilaus** then returned to Cyrene, with his Samian army. Some of his enemies fled; others he seized and sent to Cyprus to be executed, where they were rescued by the Cnidians and sent to Thera; and others escaped to a tower, which he surrounded with wood and burnt. He then remembered that he had violated the oracle, warning him from baking amphoræ; and believing Cyrene to be the water-girt place, he fled to his father-in-law **Alazir**, king of Barea. Here some Cyrenæan exiles, recognising him, slew him, and his father-in-law also.
- 165 **Pherettime applies to Aryandes, governor of Egypt.**—Meanwhile Pherettime had ruled Cyrene, but hearing of her son's death, she fled to Egypt; and relying upon some services **Arcesilaus** had rendered **Cambyses**, in making Cyrene tributary to him, (iii. 13,) she supplicated **Aryandes** to avenge his death. **Aryandes** had been appointed governor of Egypt by **Cambyses**, but subsequently, when **Darius** coined gold of the utmost fineness, tried to rival him in silver; upon which **Darius** charged him with rebellion, and put him to death.
- 166

Commencement of the Libyan war.—Aryandes now 167
 joined Pheretime, and gave her all the standing forces of
 Egypt; the army under Amasis, a Maraphian, the navy
 under Badres, one of the Pasargadæ (i. 125). He then
 despatched them all with Pheretime to Barca; for on
 sending a herald to inquire who had murdered Arce-
 si-laus, all the Barcæans took it upon themselves. Hero-
 dotus thinks that Pheretime was merely a pretext for
 subduing all the Libyans, few of whom were subject to
 Darius, while the greater part paid him no respect.
*(Three harvests in Cyrene, see chap. 199. The war
 continued at chap. 200.)*

VII. (*Digress.*) *Description of Libya, chap. 168—199.*

1st Belt of Libyan territory; nations 168
on the sea-coast.—The nations of Libya lie
 in the following order, beginning from the
 western frontier of Egypt.

Northern
 Africa, between
 the Mediterra-
 nean and De-
 sert of Sahara.

1. **The Adyrmachidæ**, stretching from Egypt to Lake
 Plunios. Their customs are Egyptian, but their dress
 Libyan. Their women have a brass ring on each leg;
 long hair; and catch vermin with their teeth, which is
 peculiar to them. They offer all their marriageable vir-
 gins to the king.

2. **The Giligammæ**, stretching to the island Aphrodi- 169
 sias. Their customs are similar to those of the others.
 Half way on their coast lies Platea, and on the main-land
 Menelaus and Aziris, colonized by the Cyrenæans. Sil-
 phium is grown from Platea to the Syrtis mouth.

3. **The Ashystæ**, separated from the sea by Cyrene. 170
 They are fond of four-horse chariots, and imitate the
 Cyrenæans.

4. **The Auschiæ** stretch to the sea near the Hesper- 171
 rides, and include the small tribe of the Cabaes, who
 extend to Tauchira, a Barcæan city. They have the same
 customs as the Ashystæ and Giligammæ.

5. **The Nasamones**, a numerous people who leave their 172
 flocks on the coast in the summer and ascend to Augila
 to gather dates. They also live on locusts dried and
 powdered, and mixed with milk. They have promis-
 cuous concubinage, like the Massagetæ; a bride grants

her favours to all the guests ; they swear by the tombs of good men ; prophesy by the tombs of their ancestors ; and pledge their faith by drinking out of each other's hands.

- 173 6. The *Psylli*, who, the Libyans say, waged war on the south wind, because it dried up their water ; they were then overwhelmed by the sand, and their country was occupied by the *Nasamones*.
- 174 7. The *Garamantes* dwell in a tract to the south, abounding in wild beasts ; they are retired, and neither carry weapons nor understand self-defence.
- 175 8. The *Macæ*, westward from the *Nasamones* on the coast. They shave off all their hair, save a long tuft, and carry bucklers made of ostrich-skins. The *Cinyps* rises from the Hill of the Graces, which is covered with trees, and flows through their country to the sea at 200 stadia [25 miles] distance.
- 176 9. The *Gindanes*, whose women wear leathern rings on their calves, receiving one from every man who visits her.
- 177 10. The *Lotophagi*, occupying the foreland between the *Gindanes* and the sea. They subsist on the lotus, which is as large as the mastic, and as sweet as the date, and make wine from it.
- 178 11. The *Machlyes*, who use the lotus a little. They extend to the river *Triton*, which falls into Lake *Tritonis*, where there is an island, *Phla*, which the *Lacedæmonians* were commanded by an oracle to colonize. It is said that when Jason built the *Argo* at the foot of Mount *Pelion*, he shipped a hecatomb and brass tripod. After doubling the *Peloponnesus* he steered for *Delphi*, but was driven off *Malea* to *Libya* and the *Tritonian* sands. Here a *Triton* appeared, who piloted him in safety for the boom of the tripod, and then placed the tripod in his temple, and prophesied that when a descendant of an *Argonaut* should carry it off, the Greeks would found 100 cities about the *Tritonis* Lake ; upon this the neighbouring *Libyans* concealed the tripod.
- 180 12. The *Auses*, who lie beyond the *Triton* river. At the festival of *Athene*, their virgins have a yearly fight, and dress up the handsomest of them in a *Corinthian* helmet and complete Greek armour, to represent her, and

take her round the lake in a chariot. Herodotus supposes that before the Greeks came they used Egyptian armour, and that both the buckler and helmet came from Greece to Egypt. Those who are slain in this combat they call false virgins. They say Athene was the daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis, and was afterwards adopted by Zeus. They use promiscuous concubinage, and have meetings every three months, when the children are adjudged to the young men they most resemble.

2nd Belt: uninhabited wild beast region.—The 181
above are the Libyan nomads, dwelling on the sea-coast. Beyond these, inland, are wild beasts, and beyond these is a sandy ridge, stretching from Thebes to the Pillars, on which are large salt hills at intervals of 10 days' journey, with sweet springs rising from each; around them dwell the nations on the verge of the desert.

3rd Belt: a sandy ridge occupied by nations on Salt Hills: 1st Salt Hill,—the Ammonians, 10 days' journey from Thebes. They have a temple to the Theban Zeus, which is represented with a ram's head (ii. 42). The fountain of the sun is found there, which is hottest at midnight and coldest at noon.

2nd Salt Hill,—the Augilæ, where the Nasamones 182
gather dates.

3rd Salt Hill,—the Garamantes, who lay earth upon 183
the salt and sow it. There are many palms at this place, which is 30 days' journey from the Lotophagi. They have a species of oxen which only differ from others by having a thicker and harder skin, and being obliged by the downward projection of their horns to graze backwards. The people hunt the Ethiopian Troglodytæ in four-horse chariots. These Troglodytæ are the fleetest of all people, and subsist on snakes, lizards, and other reptiles, and speak no language, but screech like bats.

4th Salt Hill,—the Atarantes, who have no individual 184
names, and curse the sun.

5th Salt Hill,—the Atlantes, who eat nothing alive, and never dream. Near them is Mount Atlas, which the people of the country call the pillar of heaven.

4th Belt:—the great desert.—Beyond the Atlantes, 185
Herodotus cannot name the nations, but the sandy ridge

extends to the Pillars, or beyond them, and every 10 days' journey there is a peopled salt-mine. The people build their houses of salt, which is both white and purple; no rain falls there. South of the ridge is desert.

- 186 **Peculiar customs of the Eastern Libyans or Nomads.**—Thus from Egypt to Lake Tritonis the Libyans are nomads, drink milk, and eat flesh, but not that of cows; the Cyrenæan women also observe the fasts and festivals of Isis, and many of the Barcæan women like-
 187 wise abstain from pork, but Herodotus cannot say whether the custom is universal; they also cauterize the veins on their children's heads with uncleaned wool, to prevent noxious humours. They attribute their superior health to these precautions, and indeed the Libyans are the most healthy of all nations. If convulsions arise from this burning, they are allayed by sprinkling the urine of a he-goat.

- 188 **Sacrifices.**—These Eastern Libyans sacrifice by cutting off the ears of the victim, throwing them over the house, and twisting its neck. They sacrifice to the sun and moon only, but those about Lake Tritonis worship also Athene, and Triton, and Poseidon.

- 189 **Dress.**—The Greeks borrowed the dress and ægis of Athene from the Libyan women, only the Libyan dress is leather, and the fringes are thongs and not serpents. They also borrowed the shrieking in temples, and harness-
 190 ing of four-horse chariots. The nomads bury their dead like the Greeks, except the Nasamones, who inter them in a sitting posture. Their dwellings are made of asphodel stalks wattled with rushes, and are portable.

- 191 **Western Libyans or husbandmen.**—Westward of the Tritonis are the Libyan husbandmen, called Maxyes, who dwell in houses, shave the left side of their heads, paint their bodies vermillion, and claim a Trojan descent.

- Animals of Libya.**—Western Libya is hilly, and has more wood and wild animals than the Eastern regions, which consist of level pastures with a sandy soil. Western Libya produces serpents, lions, elephants, bears, asps, and horned asses, and as the Libyans say, creatures with dogs' heads, and some with no heads but eyes in
 192 their bosoms, with wild men and women. In Eastern

Libya are only found pygargi, antelopes, buffaloes, and assea without horns who never drink; also oryes of the size of oxen, whose horns are used for the curves of Phœnician cytherns; with foxes, hyænas, porcupines, wild rams, dictyes, jackals, panthers, boryes, land-crocodiles three cubits [$4\frac{1}{2}$ feet] long, ostriches, one-horned serpents, and three sorts of rats, bipeds, zegeries, (a Libyan word signifying billocks,) and hedgehogs; also weasels are produced in the silphium. These are the animals peculiar to Eastern Libya, which also produces those which are found elsewhere, excepting stags and wild boars.

Libyan nations west of the husbandmen.—Next to the 193
Maxiges are the **Zaveces**, whose women drive war-chariots; then the **Gyzantes**, famous for honey, who paint themselves 194
 vermillion and eat monkeys. Near them the **Cartha-** 195
ginians say is an island, **Cyraunia**, 200 stadia [25 miles] long, abounding in olives and vines, and containing a lake whose virgins draw up gold dust with feathers smeared with pitch. Herodotus had seen a lake at **Zacynthus** where pitch better than that of **Pieria** was obtained by thrusting in myrtle-branches: it was then placed in a neighbouring cistern and poured off into jars, and all that fell into the lake passed under ground and re-appeared on the sea, four stadia [$\frac{1}{2}$ a mile] off. The **Carthaginians** also say, that 196
 there is a **Libyan** nation beyond the **Pillars**, with whom they barter for gold by leaving goods on the shore, for which the natives place gold, each party retiring in turns until the bargain is made, and the natives never cheating.

Four races in Libya.—**Libya** is occupied by four na- 197
 tions: 1st, the **Libyans** in the north; and 2nd, the **Ethi-**
opians in the south, who are both aborigines; 3rd, the **Greeks**; and 4th, the **Phœnicians**, who are both foreigners.

Libyan soil is inferior to that of Europe or Asia, except 198
 about the **Cinyps**, where it is black, and watered by springs and rain. This is equal to the **Babylonian**, and produces 300-fold. The soil of the **Euesperides** is also good, sometimes reaching 100-fold.

Three harvests of Cyrene.—**Cyrene** has three regions 199
 of different heights, and therefore three harvests. 1st, The harvest and vintage on the sea-side; 2nd, that on

the middle or mountain-region ; and 3rd, that on the highest parts. The whole harvest lasts eight months.

VIII. *Conquest of Barca, chap. 200—205.*

- 200 **Persians besiege Barca.**—The Persians reached Barca, (c. 167,) and besieged it for nine months, by mines and assaults ; but the Barcæi discovered the mines by striking a brass shield on the earth within the walls, and countermined and slew the Persian delvers. Barca and Cyrene.
- 201 **Take it by fraud.**—At length Amasis, general of the land-forces, took the town by a fraud. In the night he dug a fosse, and overlaid it with planks strewn with mould, and levelled the earth around. Then inviting the Barcæi to a conference on it, the latter swore to pay a tribute, and the Persians swore not to renew the attack ; the oaths of both parties being inviolate whilst the land on which they were standing should remain as it was. The Barcæi then opened their gates, and the Persians, breaking down the bridge, entered and took the city.
- 202 **Cruelty of Pheretime.**—The Barcæi were delivered up to Pheretime, who crucified the most criminal, and cut off their wives' breasts, and stuck them on the walls. The remainder she gave as slaves to the Persians, except the Battiadæ, who took no part in the murder.
- 203 **Persians return through Cyrene.**—The Persians on returning passed through Cyrene, which Bares, the admiral, wished to take, but Amasis refused from want of orders. Afterwards he repented and returned, but the Cyrenæans repulsed the Persians, who, seized with a panic, ran for 60 stadia, [$7\frac{1}{2}$ miles,] when a messenger from Ariandes arrived, and recalled them to Egypt. They then obtained provisions from the Cyrenæans and departed, but the Libyans cut off the stragglers and plundered them.
- 204 The Persians did not penetrate beyond the Euesperides. The Barcæan slaves were sent by Darius to a Bactrian village, afterwards called Barca, and which was still occupied in the time of Herodotus.
- 205 **Death of Pheretime.**—Pheretime returned to Egypt, where she died miserably, eaten by worms,—so odious to the gods are the excesses of human revenge.

BOOK V. TERPSICHORE.

HISTORY OF THE CONQUESTS OF MEGABAZUS AND OTANES, GENERALS
OF DARIUS, AND RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE IONIAN REVOLT
TO THE DEATH OF ARISTAGORAS. B. C. 508 TO 498.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Conquests of Megabazus and Otanes, generals of Darius.*

Megabazus subdues the Perinthians and Thracians.—The Thracians: their customs and religion.—Countries beyond the Ister.—Darius rewards Histæus and Coes.—Pæonians transported to Asia.—Customs of the people on Lake Prasias.—Macedonians submit to Megabazus: Alexander assassinates the Persians.—Megabazus advises Darius to recall Histæus.—Otanès succeeds Megabazus: his conquests. Chap. 1—27.

II. *Origin of the Ionian Revolt.*

Misfortunes arising from Naxos and Miletus.—Aristagoras projects the conquest of Naxos.—Obtains a fleet from Aristaphernes.—Failure of the Naxian expedition.—Histæus begs Aristagoras to revolt.—Aristagoras proclaims equality, deposes Ionian tyrants, and seeks a Spartan alliance. Chap. 28—38.

§ Contemporaneous state of Sparta: Cleomenes king.—Migrations of Dorians.—Sybarite and Crotonian account.—Companions of Dorians.

Chap. 39—48.

Aristagoras begs Cleomenes to assist the Ionians: exhibits his map of the earth engraved on brass.—Cleomenes refuses.—Road from Sardis to Susa.—Aristagoras goes to Athens. Chap. 49—54.

III. (*Digress.*) *Contemporaneous state of Athens.*

Assassination of Hipparchus, (son of Pisistratus,) 514.—Phœnician origin of the Gephyræans: their introduction of letters into Greece.—Hippias succeeds Hipparchus: intrigues of the Alcæonidæ to return to Athens.—Alcæonidæ joined by the Spartans against the Pisistratidæ.—Pisistratidæ retire to Sigeum, 510.—Factions of Clisthenes and Isagoras.—Isagoras assisted by Cleomenes.—Cleomenes defeated by the Athenians.—Defeated a second time.—Athenians defeat the Bœotians and Chalcidians.—Bœotians assisted by the Æginetans. Chap. 55—81.

§ Cause of the ancient enmity between the Athenians and Æginetans: Athenian account.—Æginetan account.—Argive account. Chap. 82—88.

Æginetans attack the Athenians.—Lacedæmonians propose to re-establish Hippias.—Their speech.—*Reply of Socrates.*—The Lacedæmonians

would profit by the experience of the Corinthians.—Original government of Corinth, 883-663.—Birth of Cypselus: obtains the tyranny of Corinth and reigns 30 years, 663.—Periander, son of Cypselus, 633.—*Reply of Hippias*.—The allies unanimously protest against his restoration.—Hippias returns to Sigeum.—Incites Artaphernes against the Athenians.

Chap. 89—96.

IV. *Ionian Revolt, to the death of Aristagoras.*

Aristagoras assisted by the Athenians.—Captive Pæonians escape to Pæonia.—Ionians burn Sardis, 503.—Ionians abandoned by the Athenians: joined by the Carians and Cyprians, 502.—Darius enraged with the Athenians.—Histæus permitted to return to Ionia.—Ionians reinforce Onesilus.—Ionians defeat the Phœnicians.—Cyprians defeated by the Persians: Onesilus routed and slain.—Head of Onesilus hung on the gates of Amathus.—Ionians return home, 501.—Persians sack Ionian cities.—Revolt of the Carians: their defeat: joined by the Milesians: second defeat.—Slay the Persian generals in an ambuscade.—Persians subdue the Æolians of Ilium and Gergithæ.—Death of Aristagoras, 498.

Chap. 97—126.

SUMMARY.

I. *Conquests of Megabazus and Otanes, generals of Darius, chap. 1—27.*

- 1 <sup>Thrace, or East-
ern Turkey in
Europe.</sup> **Megabazus subdues the Perinthians and Thracians.**—After Darius had left Scythia, Megabazus, his general in Europe, subdued, 1st, the Perinthians, who had been previously vanquished by the Pæonians, on the Strymon. The oracle had directed the Pæonians to invade the Perinthians, but only to attack them if challenged by name. The two armies had then encamped opposite each other, and three single combats took place between them, of two men, two horses, and two dogs. The Perinthians, having twice triumphed, chanted the pæan; when the Pæonians, thinking the oracle thus accomplished, advanced and routed 2 them. Megabazus then marched through Thrace, and subdued every city and nation which Darius had commanded.
- 3 **The Thracians: their customs and religion.**—The Thracians are the most numerous people next to the In-

dians, and if united, would be the most powerful, but being disunited, are feeble. Their nations have separate names but similar customs, except the Getæ, the Trausi, and those above the Crestonæans. (For the customs of 4 the Getæ see iv. 93, 94.) The Trausi bewail the newly born, and rejoice over the dead. Those above the Cres- 5 tonæans have several wives, and the most beloved is slain on her husband's tomb, and buried with him. The 6 Thracians generally sell their children for exportation; suffer their daughters to cohabit with whom they please, but watch their wives, whom they buy; tattoo their skins; esteem idleness honourable, land-labour disgraceful, and war and rapine most manly. They worship only 7 Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis; except their kings, who also reverence and swear by Hermes, from whom they claim descent. They expose the corpses of the rich for 8 three days, making great lamentation. They then slay victims and feast, and then either burn or bury the body, raise a tumulus over it, and celebrate games, in which the victors in single combats receive the highest honours.

Countries beyond the Ister.—Beyond the Ister the 9 country is unexplored, and the nations unknown, except the Sigynnæ, who wear the Medish dress, and pretend to be a Medish colony, and whose horses are small and flat-nosed, and only fit for chariots, and have hair five digits [about four inches] long. How they could have been Medes Herodotus cannot comprehend. The Ligyes beyond Massalia [Marseilles] call trades Sigynnæ, and the Cyprians gave that name to spears. The present Sigynnæ extend to the Eneti [Venetians] on the Adriatic. The Thracians say the region beyond the Ister is inha- 10 bited by bees, which Herodotus disbelieves, as bees hate cold, and the countries under the Bear are uninhabited only from the cold.

Darius rewards Histæus and Coes.—Da- 11 rius, on reaching Sardis, gave to Histæus, Sardis in Western Asia Minor. tyrant of Miletus, and Coes of Mitylene, their choice of a recompence for their services (iv. 97, 137—141). Histæus asked for Myrcinus of Edonia, and Coes for the government of Mitylene, which were both granted.

- 12 **Pæonians transported to Asia.**—Darius commanded Megabazus to subdue and transport the Pæonians to Asia, from having seen at Sardis the industry of the sister of Pigres and Mantyes, two Pæonians, who wished to obtain the government of their countrymen. The woman had been directed by her brothers to carry a pitcher for water, lead a horse, and spin flax, whilst passing Darius
- 13 in his public seat, in the Lydian suburb; the king having noticed her, and learnt from her brothers the situation of Pæonia, and that all Pæonian women were
- 14 equally industrious, sent off the order, and
Nations on the Strymon. Megabazus invaded Pæonia, which was on the Strymon near the Hellespont. The
- 15 Pæonians were a colony of Teucrians from Troy. They assembled on the sea-coast to repel Megabazus, but he took an upper road and fell suddenly on the half-emptied towns. The Pæonians then disbanded, and submitted to the Persians. The Siropæones, the Pæoplæ, and other Pæonian tribes as far as Lake Prasias, were removed to
- 16 Asia; but those round Mount Pangæus, and near the Doberes, the Agrianæ, Odomanti, and people of Lake Prasias, were unsubdued.

Customs of the people on Lake Prasias.—They live upon the lake in huts, on planks fitted on piles which were anciently driven in at the public expense, but afterwards each man brought piles from Mount Orbelus, and sunk three for each wife. They allow polygamy. A single bridge connects them with the main-land. They feed their horses and beasts with fish, which are so plentiful as to be pulled up in baskets, through trap-doors, and are of two kinds, papraces and tilones. The children are tied to prevent their falling through into the lake.

- 17 **Macedonians submit: Alexander assassinates the Persians.**—After this Megabazus sent seven ambassadors to Macedonia to demand earth and water of Amyntas for Darius. Lake Prasias is very near Macedonia. Between the two is Molake Dysorum, a mine which subsequently produced a silver talent
- 18 [£240] daily to Alexander, son of Amyntas. Amyntas now submitted to the ambassadors, and feasted them, and at their request introduced his wives and concubines.

These however the Persians treated rudely, and Alexander was so enraged, that he changed the women for youths in women's dress, who murdered all the Persians and their attendants. The affair was hushed up by Alexander's giving a large sum with his sister Gygæa to Bubares, who headed a party sent to make inquiries. Herodotus believes that Amyntas and Alexander sprang from Perdiccas, and were Greeks (viii. 137). Alexander proved himself an Argive before the judges at the Olympic games, who thereupon pronounced him a Greek.

Megabazus advises Darius to recall Histæus.—Megabazus went with the Pæonians to Sardis, and having on his route seen Histæus fortifying Myrcinus, (c. 11,) acquainted Darius with the hazard of permitting him to possess a city in Thrace, where there was plenty of wood and timber for building ships and oars, with silver-mines, and a multitude of Greeks and Barbarians who would readily obey him. Darius then recalled Histæus, pretending to want his advice, and took him to Susa, having first appointed Artaphernes, his own brother, governor of Sardis, and Otanes general of the forces along the coast, in the room of Megabazus. This Otanes was the son of Sisamnes, a royal judge whom Cambyses had killed and flayed, and stretched his skin over the judgment-seat, for giving an unjust sentence for a bribe: and had then given the judgeship to this very Otanes, and bade him remember where he sat.

Otanes succeeds Megabazus: his conquests.—Otanes subdued the Byzantines and Chalcidians: took Antandros belonging to Troas, and Lamponium; and, assisted by Lesbian ships, took Lemnos and Imbrus, then inhabited by Pelasgians. The Lemnians fought bravely, and the Persians made Lycaretus, brother of Mæandrius of Samos, (iii. 143,) governor of the survivors: he died in the government. Otanes enslaved these nations because (he said) they deserted to the Scythians, and harassed Darius in his retreat from Scythia.

*Islands in
the Ægean.*

II. *Origin of the Ionian Revolt, chap. 28—38.*

- 28 **Misfortunes arising from Naxos and Miletus, 504.**—After a short interval, new evils befell the Ionians, arising from Naxos and Miletus. Naxos was at that time the most opulent of the islands, and Miletus had attained its highest prosperity through it, having previously been weakened by factions through two generations, till the Milesians chose the Parians for arbitrators, who thus reconciled them :—they went through the district and noted the proprietors whose lands were well farmed, and appointed them to the government, thinking that those would be the most careful of public affairs who had best managed their own.
- 29 **Aristagoras projects the conquest of Naxos.**—Certain Naxian exiles came to Miletus and entreated Aristagoras (son-in-law of Histæus, and his vice-governor) to reinstate them in Naxos, and Aristagoras, hoping to obtain Naxos himself, after stating his own want of forces, promised to ask the assistance of Artaphernes. He then visited Sardis and explained to Artaphernes, that if he captured Naxos, he might also easily take the rest of the Cyclades and Eubœa. He then offered to supply money, and only asked 100 ships. Artaphernes promised 200 ships next spring if Darius sent his approval.
- 30 **Obtains a fleet from Artaphernes.**—This being obtained, Artaphernes sent 200 triremes with a force under Megabates, his own and Darius's nephew, to Aristagoras. The daughter of this Megabates was said to have been afterwards affianced to Pausanias. Aristagoras, having embarked with the Ionian troops and Naxians, sailed to Chios, and anchored at Caucasa, that he might cross to Naxos by a north wind ; but Megabates had thrust a Myndian captain, named Scylax, half through a port-hole, for leaving his ship without a guard, and when Aristagoras begged for his release, it was refused, so he released Scylax himself, for he was his friend.
- 31 **Failure of the expedition.**—Upon this Megabates sent to inform the Naxians of their danger, who, though surprised, instantly hurried in provisions. The Persians then besieged Naxos for four months, when having con-
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sumed all their money and supplies, they were forced to depart, having first built a fort for the Naxian exiles.

Histiæus begs Aristagoras to revolt.—Whilst Aristagoras was harassed by his expenses, ill success, and quarrel with Megabates, Histiæus, who lamented his detention at Susa, sent a messenger urging him to revolt. Histiæus, to avoid detection, had shaved the head of a trusty slave, marked it with the message, and kept him until the hair was grown, and then sent him to Aristagoras with directions to re-shave the hair and look at the head, as he hoped to be sent to the coast in case of a revolt. Aristagoras now consulted his friends, who all agreed to it, except Hecataeus the historian, who stated the power of Darius. Being unsuccessful, he then advised them to seize the treasures dedicated by Cræsus at Branchidæ, (i. 50, 51, 92,) and become masters of the sea. This was rejected, and the conspirators sent Iatragoras, one of themselves, to Myus, where the fleet from Naxos still remained, to try and seize the captains, and Iatragoras succeeded in capturing Oliatus of Mylassa, Histiæus of Termira, Coes of Mitylene, Aristagoras of Cyma, and many others. 35 36 37

Aristagoras deposes Ionian tyrants and seeks a Spartan alliance.—Aristagoras then, to gain over the people, laid aside his own power, and established a republic in Miletus. He also proclaimed equality throughout Ionia, deposing the tyrants, or delivering up those seized at Myus to their respective cities. The Mitylenians, on receiving Coes, stoned him, but the other cities exiled their tyrants; and Aristagoras having enjoined the states to appoint magistrates, went to Lacedæmon to procure an alliance. 38

§ *Contemporaneous State of Sparta, chap. 39—48.*

Cleomenes king, 515.—Anaxandrides, PELOPONNESUS. 39
king of Sparta, was now dead, and succeeded
by his son, Cleomenes. Anaxandrides had Sparta.
married his niece, who proved barren, and the ephori
pressed him to take a 2nd wife, still keeping the 40
first, which he did, though contrary to Spartan usages.
This 2nd wife bore Cleomenes, upon which his first 41

wife bore Dorieus, and afterwards Leonidas and Cleombrotus.

- 42 **Migrations of Dorieus.**—Cleomenes was half-mad, but Dorieus was the first man of his age, and therefore so indignant at seeing Cleomenes appointed king instead of himself, that he left Sparta with a company of men, and founded a colony at the Cinyps, the most beautiful spot in Libya, but without consulting the oracle, or complying with the customary usages. In the 3rd year he was driven out by the Macæ, Libyans, and Carthaginians, and returned to Peloponnesus, when Antichares of Elis advised him to follow the oracles given to Laius, and found Heraclea in Sicily, affirming that all Eryx belonged to the Heraclidæ through Heracles. Dorieus being also encouraged by the Delphic oracle, sailed for Sicily.
- 43 On his way the Sybarites say he assisted the Crotonians in taking Sybaris, which the latter deny, being aided by no foreigner but Callias of Elis, a seer who had deserted from Telys, king of the Sybarites, because the victims he sacrificed were unfavourable.
- 44 **Sybarite and Crotonian account.**—The Sybarites prove their assertion by showing the temple to the Crastian Athene built by Dorieus after the capture, and mentioning how he was killed for disobeying the oracle and losing Eryx. The Crotonians prove theirs by showing the lands given to Callias, whereas none were given to Dorieus, which he must have received if he had assisted them.
- 45 **Companions of Dorieus.**—Joined with Dorieus were Thessalus, Paræbates, Celeas, and Euryleon, who, on reaching Sicily, were routed and slain by the Phœnicians and Egestæans, except Euryleon, who, with the survivors, freed the Selinuntians of Minœa from their king Pythagoras, but afterwards, seizing the government, was slain at the altar of Zeus in the market-place. Philippus of Crotona, who had been affianced to the daughter of Telys, king of Sybaris, also joined Dorieus with his own trireme, and was so handsome that the Egestæans afterwards sacrificed at his tomb. Had Dorieus remained in Sparta he would have succeeded Cleomenes, who died shortly after, leaving no son, but only a daughter named Gorgo.
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Aristagoras begs Cleomenes to assist the Ionians.—

Aristagoras arrived in Sparta whilst Cleomenes was 49 king, and taking with him a map of the entire circuit of the world, with all its seas and rivers, engraved on a brass tablet, thus addressed him: "Wonder not, Cleomenes, at my eagerness in coming here. The children of Ionia are slaves instead of freemen,—a reproach and grief to us, but especially to you, who are pre-eminent in Greece. I adjure you then, by the gods of Greece, to liberate the Ionians. The task is easy, for the Barbarians are unwarlike, whereas you have attained the summit of military glory. Their arms are bows and short spears, their armour trousers and turbans. But their treasures of gold and silver, and brass, raiment, beasts, and slaves, exceed those of all other nations. All these are yours if you please. The order of these nations I will explain by reference to this map. Next to the Ionians are the Lydians, who inhabit a fertile country and abound in silver. East of the Lydians are the Phrygians, the richest nation I know in cattle and corn. Next are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; they adjoin the Cilicians, who occupy the coast of the sea in which Cyprus is found. The latter pay the king 500 talents [£120,000] yearly (iii. 90). Next to the Cilicians are the Armenians, who abound in cattle; then the Matienians; and then Cissia, where Susa stands, on the banks of the Choaspes, where the great king resides, and where his treasures are. If you take this city you may vie with Zeus in riches. Here you war with the Messenians, your equals in valour, for a small and unfertile territory; or with the Arcadians and Argives, who possess neither gold nor silver. Now you may easily conquer all Asia; and what else could you prefer?"

Cleomenes refuses.—Cleomenes deferred replying until the 3rd day, when he asked the distance from the sea 50 of Ionia to Susa, and Aristagoras innocently telling him the truth, viz. three months' journey, desired him to leave Sparta before sunset. Aristagoras went to his house 51 with the olive branch, and tried to bribe him first with 10 and then on to 50 talents [£2,400 and £12,000]; but the king's little daughter, Gorgo, having told her father

that the stranger would corrupt him, Cleomenes left the room and Aristagoras the city.

- 52 **Road from Sardis to Susa.**—In the road from Sardis to Susa are royal stations and excellent inns. In Lydia and Phrygia are 20 stations, and the distance is $94\frac{1}{2}$ parasangs [$354\frac{1}{2}$ miles]. Through Cappadocia, passing the gates of the Halys, are 28 stations over 104 parasangs [390 miles]. On the borders of Cilicia are two gates and two forts. Through Cilicia are three stations over $15\frac{1}{2}$ parasangs [58 miles]. The Euphrates must then be crossed in boats, and Armenia is entered, containing 15 garrisoned stations over $56\frac{1}{2}$ parasangs, [212 miles,] with four rivers to be ferried, viz. 1st, the Tigris, 2nd and 3rd also called Tigris, one flowing from Armenia, the other from Matiene, and 4th, the Gyndes (i. 189, 202). Entering Matiene are four stations, and from thence to Cissia are 11 stations over $42\frac{1}{2}$ parasangs [$159\frac{1}{2}$ miles] to the river Choaspes, which must be crossed by boats, and on which Susa is built. The above stations amount to 111. [Only 81 mentioned in the text—probably a discrepancy in MSS.]
- 53 It is 450 parasangs from Sardis to the royal palace, Memnonia, at Susa; and reckoning each parasang as 30 stadia, the whole would be 13,500 stadia, or 90 days' journey [$1687\frac{1}{2}$ miles]; each day consisting of 150 stadia
- 54 [$18\frac{3}{4}$ miles]. Aristagoras was thus correct in saying it was three months' journey, but the above does not include the road from Ephesus to Sardis, which is 540
- 55 stadia, [$67\frac{1}{2}$ miles,] or three days more. From Sparta Aristagoras went to Athens. (*Continued at c. 96.*)

III. *Contemporaneous state of Athens, chap. 55—96.*

Assassination of Hipparchus, 514. —

CENTRAL
GREECE.

—
Athens.

- Athens was now free from tyrants (i. 64). Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias, had been assassinated by Aristogiton and Harmodius, who were Gephyreans. On the night before the Panathenaic festival Hipparchus had been warned by the vision of a man, who said,

“Lion, endure, though hard thy suff’rings be :—
From heaven’s wrath no guilty man can flee.”

At day-break he consulted the diviners, and having attempted to avert the vision, conducted the procession in which he perished. For four more years, however, the Athenians were oppressed by still greater tyranny.

Phœnician origin of the Gephyræans, their introduction of letters into Greece.—The Gephyræans say that they sprang from Eretria, but Herodotus finds by diligent inquiry that they were Phœnicians who accompanied Cadmus to Bœotia, and settled in Tanagra. The Cadmeans were first expelled by the Argives, and then the Gephyræans by the Bœotians, and the latter then went to Athens, and were enrolled as Athenians with trifling restrictions. They built temples apart from the Athenians, particularly the temple and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres (c. 61). Those Phœnicians, who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyræans were a part, introduced letters into Greece, which the Ionians first learnt, and called Phœnician, and afterwards changed their shape and sound. They also call books made of papyrus, parchments, because formerly papyrus was scarce, and goat and sheep-skins were used. Herodotus saw some Cadmean letters resembling the Ionian, on some tripods in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, about as old as Laius, great-grandson of Cadmus; as Œdipus, son of Laius; and as Laodamas, son of Eteocles, during whose reign the Cadmeans were driven by the Argives to the Encheleæ.

Hippias succeeds Hipparchus: intrigues of the Alcmaeonidæ to return to Athens.—Hippias succeeded Hipparchus in the tyranny of Athens, and resented his death. The Alcmaeonidæ had been expelled Athens by the Pisistratidæ, and being defeated in trying to return, had fortified Lipsydrium above Pæonia. They were then engaged by the Amphictyons to build the Delphic temple, and generously exceeded the contract by fronting it with Parian marble, instead of mere porine stone.

Alcmaeonidæ joined by the Spartans against the Pisistratidæ.—The Athenians say that whilst these Alcmaeonidæ were at Delphi, they bribed the Pythia to propose to every Spartan who came the deliverance of Athens. The Spartans accordingly at length sent an

- army under Anchimolius to expel the Pisistratidæ, as their duty to the god overcame the ties of friendship. Anchimolius landed at Phalerum, but the Pisistratidæ being joined by Cineas, king of Thessaly, with 1000 horse, cut the Spartans to pieces, slew Anchimolius, and drove the survivors to their ships, having previously cleared the plain of Phalerum to render it practicable
- 64 for cavalry. The Spartans subsequently sent a larger force by land, under king Cleomenes, who routed the Thessalian cavalry, and being joined by those Athenians who desired freedom, marched to Athens and besieged the tyrants within the Pelasgic fort.
- 65 **Pisistratidæ retire to Sigeum, 510.**—The Pisistratidæ would have held out, being well provisioned, and the besiegers unprepared to blockade them, but in trying to remove their children from Attica the latter were seized, and only restored on the Pisistratidæ swearing to leave Attica within five days. The Pisistratidæ then retired to Sigeum on the Scamander, after ruling Athens 36 years. They were by extraction Pylians descended from Neleus, and sprung from the same ancestors as Codrus and Melanthus, who though formerly strangers, had been kings of Athens. To keep in mind this extraction Hippocrates named his son Pisistratus, after the son of Nestor.
- 66 **Factions of Clisthenes and Isagoras.**—On the departure of the Pisistratidæ, Clisthenes, one of the Alcmaonidæ, and Isagoras, struggled for the supreme power, and the former being worsted, gained over the people, and afterwards increased their tribes from 4 to 10 ; and changed their names, which were derived from the sons of Ion, viz. Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, to the names of other heroes, who were all native save Ajax.
- 67 Clisthenes thus imitated his maternal grandfather, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, who being at war with the Argives, 1. Stopped the contests of the rhapsodists, because Homer only celebrated the Argives. 2. Tried to cast out the shrine of Adrastus the Argive from the Sicyonian forum, but being forbidden by the Pythia, sent for the shrine of Melanippus, who had been the greatest enemy of Adrastus, from Thebes of Boeotia, and

placing it in the forum, transferred to it the honours paid to Adrastus, whom the Sicyonians had previously honoured very highly, as the country itself had belonged to Polybus, who, dying without a son, had given the sovereignty to Adrastus, the son of his daughter. He also transferred all the tragic choruses and dances celebrating Adrastus, to Dionysus. 3. He changed the names of the Dorian tribes, that the Sicyonians and Argives might be different. But he thus threw ridicule on the Sicyonians, for the names he gave were derived from those of a swine and an ass; Hyattæ from ἵς, a sow, Oneatæ from ὄνος, an ass, Chœreatæ from χοῖρος, a pig; but his own tribe, Archelai, the princely. These names were altered 60 years afterwards to Hylleæ, Pamphyli, Dymanatæ, and Ægialeæ after the son of Adrastus.

Isagoras assisted by Cleomenes.—Isagoras being thus worsted, persuaded Cleomenes the king of Lacedæmonia, who was friendly with Isagoras, and had indeed been suspected of adultery with his wife, to charge Clisthenes with being under a curse, and to require his expulsion. The Alcæmonidæ were accused of having before the time of Pisistratus murdered Cylon, a young Athenian, who had conspired with others to seize the Acropolis, but failing, had placed himself before Athene. The Prytanes of the Naucrari, who then governed Athens, promised them their lives, and removed them; but the Alcæmonidæ were charged with executing them. [See Thuc. i. 126.]

Cleomenes defeated by the Athenians.—Cleomenes sent a herald and Clisthenes withdrew, nevertheless Cleomenes came to Athens with a small force and banished 700 families pointed out by Isagoras; he also tried to dissolve the senate, and give the magistracy to 300 partisans of Isagoras; but the senate and people resisted, and for two days besieged Cleomenes and Isagoras in the Acropolis, who capitulated on the third day, and Cleomenes and his Lacedæmonians withdrew with Isagoras, whilst the rest, including Timesitheus of Delphi, died in prison. The priestess in the Acropolis had hailed Cleomenes as a Dorian, and desired him to draw back, but he replied that he was an Achæan, and persisted in the unfortunate attempt. Clisthenes and the 700 families were

then recalled, and the Athenians, fearing Cleomenes, sent to Sardis to form an alliance with the Persians. Artaphernes promised to conclude one, if they would send earth and water to Darius, for promising which the ambassadors were blamed for it on their return.

- 74 **Defeated a second time.**—Cleomenes desiring revenge on the Athenians, and the re-establishment of Isagoras, assembled a second army from all parts of the Peloponnesus, and invaded Eleusis, whilst the Boeotians took Cœnoe and Hysia, and the Chalcidians ravaged Attica
- 75 from the other side. The Athenians marched out to meet the Peloponnesians, when the Corinthians, thinking the cause unjust, withdrew from Cleomenes, and were followed by Demaratus, the other king of Lacedæmon, and the rest of the allies. This division led to a law at Sparta, that henceforth only one of the kings and one of the Tyndaridæ [Castor and Pollux, the guardian
- 76 deities of Sparta] should follow the camp. This was the 4th time that the Dorians had entered Attica. 1st, When they settled a colony in Megara, when Codrus was king at Athens; 2nd and 3rd, when they were sent to expel the Pisistratidæ; and 4th, when Cleomenes on the present occasion invaded Eleusis.
- 77 **Athenians defeat the Boeotians and Chalcidians.**—The Athenians then marched against the Chalcidians, but the Boeotians advancing to Euripus to assist them, the Athenians defeated the Boeotians first, and took 700 prisoners; they then crossed to Eubœa, conquered the Chalcidians, and left 4000 men to settle in the lands of the Hippobotæ, or wealthy Chalcidians. The Boeotian and Chalcidian prisoners were afterwards ransomed at two minæ a head, [£8,] when their fetters were hung up in the Acropolis, and a brazen chariot with four horses was made with the tithes of their ransoms, and dedicated in the portico of the Acropolis with this inscription:

“Athene’s sons o’ercame in feats of war
Boeotians and Chalcidians, and subdued
Their pride within a dark and iron dungeon,
And tithed the spoil, and gave these mares to Pallas.”

- 78 The excellence of equality of rights is thus shown: under

tyrants the Athenians were inferior to their neighbours, for they purposely acted as cowards; but as freemen they surpassed them all, for each man laboured for himself.

Boeotians assisted by the Æginetans.—The Boeotians of Thebes, wishing to be revenged on the Athenians, consulted the oracle, who desired them to ask the aid of their “nearest friends.” This was at first supposed to mean their neighbours, the Tanagræans, Coronæans, and Thespians; but some one suggesting that Thebes and Ægina were sisters, they asked the Æginetans for assistance, who sent them the statues of the Æacidæ. The Thebans then attacked the Athenians, but, being routed, they returned the Æacidæ and begged for troops, when the Æginetæ, being elated with their prosperity, and having an old grudge, levied war against Athens without proclamation.

§ *Causes of the quarrel between the Athenians and Æginetæ, chap. 82—88.*

Cause of the ancient enmity between the Athenians and Æginetans: Athenian account.—The Epidaurians having consulted the oracle during a famine, were desired to erect statues of Damia and Auxesia of olive-wood, which could only be got from the Athenians, who granted it on the Epidaurians engaging to send yearly victims to Athene Polias and Erectheus. Subsequently, the Æginetans, who were previously in subjection to the Epidaurians, became powerful, revolted, stole the statues, and set them up in Cea, and instituted sacrifices and derisive choruses of women similar to the Epidaurians, ten men being assigned to each deity as leaders of the chorus, in which the women and not the men were reviled. After this the Epidaurians refused to send the promised victims to the Athenians. The latter then sent to Ægina for the statues, but the Æginetans replied that they had nothing to do with the Athenians. The Athenians then sent a trireme and attempted to drag the statues away, but a storm and earthquake ensued, and they were struck with madness and slew each other, only one escaping.

Æginetan account.—These say that the Athenians 86

sent not one ship, but a large armament to seize the statues: and that whilst trying to wrench them with cords from their pedestals, they fell on their knees, and have remained in that posture ever since. This appears incredible to Herodotus. The Æginetans add, that the Athenians were killed by the Argives, who fell upon the Athenians in their retreat, whilst the storm was taking place.

- 87 **Argive accounts.**—The Argives say that the sole Athenian survivor was killed, on his return to Athens, by the wives of the deceased with their clasps. The Athenians were much affected by this event, and having no other way of punishing their women, made them change their Dorian dress, which is like the Corinthian, for an Ionian costume, which is originally Carian, and consists of only a linen tunic without clasps. All the Greek female dress
- 88 in ancient times was the same as the Dorian. The Argives and Æginetans after this used clasps one half larger than before, which their women dedicate in their temples, and bring no other Attic article there. This custom of wearing large clasps continued to the time of Herodotus.
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- 89 **Æginetans attack the Athenians.**—The Æginetans accordingly, on the present occasion, readily assisted the Bœotians, and ravaged the shores of Attica. The Athenians prepared to attack them, but were ordered by the oracle to wait 30 years, from the time they had been injured by the Æginetans; and in the 31st year to build a temple to Æacus, and then to commence the war: otherwise, though they would still succeed in the end, yet they would suffer much evil as well as inflict much. The Athenians then built the temple, but prepared to take immediate revenge on the Æginetans, but were checked by a movement at Lacedæmon.

- 90 **Lacedæmonians propose to re-establish Hippias.**—PELOPONNESUS. Meantime the Lacedæmonians had discovered the bribery of the Pythia by the Alcæonidæ, and had been enraged at the ingratitude of the Athenians. They had also learnt from some oracle as

old as the Pisistratidæ, which Cleomenes had brought from the Acropolis, that they should suffer fresh calamities from the Athenians; and feeling, moreover, that the Athenians were increasing in power in consequence of their freedom, they sent for Hippias, son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum, on the Hellespont, and having summoned their allies, spoke as follows:

Their Speech.—"Confederates, we acknowledge that we have done wrong. Persuaded by lying oracles we have expelled the men who had promised to keep Athens subject to us. We have emancipated an ungrateful people, who have now insultingly ejected both us and our king. The Boeotians and Chalcidians have already learned what others may learn too late. Let us then correct our error, and for this purpose we have sent for Hippias and summoned you here, that by common consent and combined forces we may restore him to Athens."

Reply of Sosicles.—"The majority of the confederates disapproved of the proposition, but kept silence. At length Sosicles thus spoke."

The Lacedæmonians would profit by the experience of the Corinthians.—"Surely the heavens and earth will change their position, and fishes and men their abodes, since you, Lacedæmonians, seek to abolish equality and restore tyranny. If it seems to you good for cities to be ruled by tyrants, why not set up one in Sparta? But now whilst you are ignorant of a tyranny yourselves, and whilst you jealously guard against its introduction at Sparta, you insult your allies by this proposition, which you would never have made if you had been taught by our experience."

Original government of Corinth: the Bacchiadæ, 833—663.—"Corinth was originally governed by an oligarchy called Bacchiadæ, who only intermarried in their own family, till one of them, Amphion, had a lame daughter Labda, whom no one would have, and therefore was married to Eetion, a poor man, one of the Lapithæ, from Petra."

Birth of Cypselus: obtains the tyranny of Corinth, and reigns 30 years, 663.—"Labda being barren, Eetion consulted the oracle at Delphi, who thus replied:

‘Eetion! though none pay their honours now,
 Yet honours are thy due. From Labda’s womb
 A fated stone shall come, to fall on kings
 And check Corinthia’s insolence supreme.’

This reached the ears of the Bacchiadæ, and somewhat enabled them to understand this previous oracle:

‘An eagle broods on rocks: she shall bring forth
 A lion, who shall loose the knees of many.
 Ponder this well, Corinthians! ye who dwell
 Round fair Pirene’s spring and frowning Corinth.’

[The eagle referred to Eetion; the rock to Petra.] The Bacchiadæ kept the matter secret, and when Labda gave birth, sent ten of their number to kill the child. These ten, on their way to Petra, agreed that whoever should first receive the infant should dash it to the ground. Labda, ignorant of the danger, gave it to one who was so disarmed by its smiles, that he passed it to another, who was then similarly affected and gave it to a third, and so it passed through the hands of all without one being willing to destroy it. They then went out and upbraided each other, but at length returned, determining that all should share in the murder. Labda had however heard their conversation, and meantime hid the babe in a chest, and the men being unable to find it were compelled to return, and falsely declare that they had accomplished their mission. Cypselus, the child, grew up, and afterwards consulted the oracle and obtained this answer:

‘Happy this man who comes within my fane!
 Cypselus, son of Eetion, king of Corinth.
 He and his children, but not children’s children.’

Relying on these words, Cypselus attacked and obtained the tyranny of Corinth, but banished or plundered many, and executed more. He died happily after reigning 30 years.

Periander, son of Cypselus, 633.—“Periander at first was milder than Cypselus, but having sent an ambassador to consult Thrasybulus tyrant of Miletus respecting the best way of governing the city, the latter cut off the tallest ears in a field of corn, which Periander comprehending, immediately commenced killing and banishing the most eminent of the citizens, like his father. This Periander

once consulted the oracle of the dead in Thesprotia near the Acheron, respecting a deposit left by a stranger, when Melissa [his wife whom he had murdered, iii. 50] appeared and refused to make it known, because as her burial clothes were not burnt, she was cold and naked. As a proof that she was speaking the truth, she added that 'Periander had put his bread into a cold oven,' the meaning of which Periander recognised. Accordingly, he then summoned all the Corinthian women to the temple of Hera, stripped them, and collecting their garments in a pit, invoked Melissa, and burnt them, and subsequently Melissa stated where she had laid the stranger's deposit. Such, Lacedæmonians, are the deeds of tyranny, and we conjure you by the gods of Greece not to attempt to establish it in the cities. But should you, against all right, attempt to restore Hippias, the Corinthians at least will never countenance your design."

Reply of Hippias: the allies unanimously protest against his restoration.—Hippias, who knew the oracles better than any, replied, that the Corinthians would regret the Pisistratidæ when harassed by the Athenians; but the other allies unanimously sided with Sosisles, and thus the design was defeated.

Hippias returns to Sigeum.—Hippias then returned to 94 Sigeum, though Amyntas the Macedonian had offered him Anthemus, and the Thessalians Iolcus. Pisistratus had given Sigeum to his natural son Hegesistratus, having taken it from the Mitylenæans, who disputed with the Athenians about it, till Periander, son of Cypselus, settled between them. In one of their battles Alcæus the poet 95 was compelled to fly, and the Athenians hung up his arms in Athene's temple at Sigeum, which misfortune he has described in an ode.

Incites Artaphernes against the Athenians.—Hippias 96 on his return tried to set Artaphernes against the Athenians, who sent ambassadors to warn the Persians from listening to him; but Artaphernes desired them, if they wished to remain safe, to receive back Hippias, which they refused to do, and determined to declare war with Persia.

*IV. Ionian Revolt, to the death of Aristagoras,
chap. 97—126.*

- 97 **Aristagoras assisted by the Athenians.**—
Asiatic Greece. At this very time Aristagoras arrived at Athens, (c. 55,) and repeated all that he had said at Sparta, promised almost every thing, and added, that the Milesians were an Athenian colony. As it seems to be easier to impose upon a multitude than upon a single man, he was better able to impose upon 30,000 Athenians than upon Cleomenes the Lacedæmon; and he at length persuaded the Athenians to send 20 ships to Ionia under Melanthius, which became a source of calamities both to the Greeks and Barbarians.
- 98 **Captive Pæonians escape to Pæonia.**—On returning to Miletus Aristagoras sent to urge the captive Pæonians in Phrygia (c. 15) to return to Pæonia, which would only vex Darius and could do no good to the Ionians. The Pæonians accordingly fled to Chios, pursued by Persian cavalry, but the Chians conveyed them to Lesbos, and the Lesbians to Doriscus, from which place they reached Pæonia on foot.
- 99 **Ionians burn Sardis, 503.**—The 20 Athenian ships joined Aristagoras, with five triremes from the Eretrians, the latter having been previously assisted by the Milesians when the Samians had joined the Chalcidians against them. Aristagoras then resolved on attacking Sardis; and remaining himself at Miletus, placed the Milesians under the command of his brother Charopinus, and the
- 100 **forces of the other cities under Hermophantus.** The Ionians then reached Ephesus with these forces, and leaving the ships at Coressus, advanced with Ephesian guides by the river Cayster, and over Mount Tmolus, and reached and took all Sardis, except the citadel, which was defended by Artaphernes with a strong garrison.
- 101 **Sardis, being built of reeds, was then fired by a soldier,** when the Lydians and Persians, being enclosed, rushed together in the market-place, on the banks of the Pactolus, which brings down gold sand from Tmolus, and runs through the market into the Hermus. Here they prepared to attack the Ionians, and the latter retired to

Mount Tmolus, and at night to their ships. The temple 102
of Cybele fell in the fire, for which the Persians after-
wards burnt the Grecian temples. The Persians, who
had settled within the Halys, now commenced pursuit,
and overtook and defeated the Ionians at Ephesus, where
Eualcides, general of the Eretrians, was slain.

Abandoned by the Athenians: joined by the Carians 103
and Cyprians, 502.—The Athenians then abandoned the
Ionians, who however continued the war, and sailing to
the Hellespont, reduced Byzantium and other cities;
gained an alliance with the Carians, which the Carian city
of Caunus had refused before the burning of Sardis; and 104
were joined by all the Cyprians except the Amathusians;
for Onesilus, younger brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis
in Cyprus, after fruitlessly exhorting Gorgus to revolt, had
barred him out of the city. Gorgus fled to the Medes,
and Onesilus obtained Salamis, and having persuaded all
the Cyprians, as above, to join the Ionians, besieged
Amathus.

Darius enraged with the Athenians.—When Darius 105
heard that Sardis was taken and burnt, he passed over
the Ionians, but asked who the Athenians were; and on
learning, he shot an arrow into the air, praying to Zeus
for revenge, and commanded a slave to say thrice every
day at dinner, "My Lord, remember the Athenians!"

Histiæus permitted to return to Ionia.—Darius then 106
summoned Histiæus, and taxed him with conniving at the
revolt, which had been carried out by his own viceroy
Aristagoras. Histiæus replied that he could scarcely be-
lieve the fact, but if it were so it was occasioned by his 107
absence from Ionia. He then begged that he might be
sent to Ionia, when he would immediately quash the re-
bellion and deliver up Aristagoras; and he swore by the
royal gods not to change his garments until he had made
Sardinia tributary. Darius was deceived by this speech,
and despatched Histiæus, charging him to return upon
the accomplishment of his mission.

Ionians reinforce Onesilus.—Meantime, Iale of Cyprus. 108
whilst Onesilus was besieging Amathus,
news arrived that Artybius was leading a large Persian
armament against Cyprus, and he accordingly sent to the

Ionians for assistance, who then despatched a large force, without stopping to deliberate. This force arrived at Cyprus whilst the Persians, having crossed in ships from Cilicia, were marching to Salamis, and whilst the Phœnician fleet had doubled the Key of Cyprus.

- 109 **Ionians defeat the Phœnicians.**—Onesilus now asked the Ionians whether they would attack the Phœnician fleet, or Persian land-force. They replied that they were sent to guard the seas, and would therefore engage the Phœnician navy, whilst Onesilus and his Cyprians fought the Persian army. The battle was soon commenced on land and sea. The Ionians fought with the utmost bravery, especially the Samians, and at length defeated the Phœnicians.
- 110 **Cyprians defeated by the Persians: Onesilus routed and slain.**—Onesilus at the same time met the Persians before Salamis, and drew up the Cyprians to meet the auxiliaries, the Salaminians and Solians to meet the Persians, and himself to meet Artybius. He then arranged with his shield-bearer, who was a Carian, to attack the horse of Artybius, which had been trained to rear up and bite, whilst he himself fought the general. The two commanders accordingly engaged. Onesilus struck Artybius, whose horse then prepared to plant its feet on his shield, but they were immediately scythed off by the
- 113 Carian. Artybius thus fell with his horse. Meantime, however, Stesenor, tyrant of Curium, an Argive colony in Cyprus, deserted to the enemy with all his Curians, and was followed by the war-chariots of Salamis. The Persians thus became superior to the Cyprians, and routed them with great slaughter. Onesilus was amongst the slain, and Aristocyprus, king of the Solians, whose father Philocyprus had been celebrated in verse by Solon as the most illustrious of all tyrants.
- 114 **Head of Onesilus hung on the gates of Amathus.**—The Amathusians then hung over their gates the head of Onesilus, and the skull, becoming hollow, was filled by bees
- 115 with a honey-comb. An oracle ordered the people to bury it, and institute yearly sacrifices to Onesilus as a hero, which continued to the time of Herodotus.

Ionians return home, 501.—When the Ionians heard of the fall of Onesilus, and that all the Cyprian cities were besieged except Salamis, which the citizens had restored to their former king Gorgus, they returned to Ionia. Of the Cyprian cities, Soli held out the longest, the Persians taking it after undermining the wall, in the first month. Thus the Cyprians were again enslaved after a year of freedom. Ionia. 116

Persians sack Ionian cities.—Meantime Daurises, Hy-meas, Otanes, and other generals who had married daughters of Darius, pursued and routed the Ionians who had burnt Sardis, and commenced dividing and sacking their cities. Daurises took Dardanus, Abydos, Percote, Lamp-sacus, and Pæsus, each in one day; but, hearing of the revolt of the Carians, (c. 103,) turned back from the Hellespont and marched against Caria. 117 118

Revolt of the Carians.—The Carians heard of his approach and assembled at the White Pillars on the Marsyas, which flows from Idrias and falls into the Mæander. Pixodarus, a Cindyan, advised them to cross the Mæander, and fight with the river in their rear; but they resolved that the Persians should have it in their rear, that, if defeated, it might cut off their retreat. Caria.

Their defeat.—The Persians crossed the Mæander, and after an obstinate battle on the banks of the Marsyas the Carians were overpowered by numbers. They lost 10,000 men, and the Persians 2000. They escaped to the temple of the military Zeus in Labranda, being the only people who sacrifice to this deity. 119

Joined by the Milesians: second defeat.—Here, whilst deliberating in the sacred grove, they were relieved by the Milesians and their allies. They now resolved on a second engagement, but were more signally defeated than before, though the Milesians suffered most. 120

Slay the Persian generals by an ambuscade.—The Carians however again recovered and renewed the contest, and hearing that the Persians were about to invade their cities, placed an ambush on the road to Pedasum, under Heraclides a Mylassian, which fell on the enemy at night, and cut them to pieces, slaying their generals, Daurises, Amorges, Sisamaces, and Myrsus. 121

- 122 **Persians subdue the Æolians of Ilium and**
 Gergithæ. — Meantime Hymeas, (c. 116,) Æolia.
 marched towards the Propontis and took Cius of Mysia,
 but hearing that Daurises had left the Hellespont, he took
 his place and subdued the Æolians of Ilium, and the Ger-
 githæ, remnants of the ancient Teucrians, and died of
 123 disease in the Troad. Artaphernes and Otanes then took
 Clazomenæ in Ionia and Cyme in Æolia.
- 124 **Death of Aristagoras, 498.**—Aristagoras now proved
 himself to be a man of no elevated soul, for he called his
 partisans, and proposed to fly to Sardinia and found a co-
 lony, or to Myrcinus of Edonia, which Histæus had re-
 125 ceived from Darius, and begun to fortify (c. 23). Hecateus,
 the historian, advised him to fortify the island of Leros,
 where he might remain if expelled from Miletus, and
 126 easily return afterwards. But Aristagoras determined to
 proceed to Myrcinus, and intrusting Miletus to Pythago-
 ras, he sailed to Thrace, and was slain whilst besieging
 a city, which was willing to capitulate.

BOOK VI. ERATO.

HISTORY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IONIAN REVOLT, AND EXPEDITIONS OF MARDONIUS, DATIS, AND ARTAPHERNES, GENERALS OF DARIUS, TO THE DEATH OF MILTIADES. B. C. 498 to 489.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Suppression of the Ionian Revolt.*

Histiæus escapes to Chios.—Rejected by the Milesians.—Obtains eight ships from Lesbos and sails to Byzantium.—Persians unite their forces against Miletus.—Ionian fleet assemble at Lade.—Persians send the Ionian tyrants to win over the Ionians.—Desertion of the Samians and Lesbians.—Battle of Lade: defeat of the Ionian fleet.—Persians enslave Miletus, 498.—Sympathy for the Milesians.—Samians, displeased at the desertion of their leaders, sail for Cale Acte.—Take Zancle.—Æaces restored to the tyranny of Samos: Persians subdue Caria.—Histiæus conquers Chios.—Presages of the calamities at Chios: Histiæus taken and crucified.—Persians enslave Ionia a 3rd time, 497.—Subdue the Chersonesus, etc.

Chap. 1—34.

§ History of the Chersonesus:—anciently held by the Thracian Dolonci.—Miltiades, son of Cypselus, tyrant, 560.—Stesagoras.—Miltiades, son of Cimon.

Chap. 34—40.

Miltiades, son of Cimon, escapes to Athens.—Persians stay hostilities, 466.

Chap. 40—42.

II. *Expedition of Mardonius.*

Mardonius establishes democracies, 495.—Conquers the Thasians and Macedonians.—Wrecked at Athos.—Thasians ordered by Darius to demolish their wall and transport their ships.

Chap. 43—47.

III. (*Digress.*) *War between Athens and Ægina, and History of Cleomenes and Demaratus.*

Darius sends to all Greece for earth and water.—Æginetans accused of betraying Greece.—Cleomenes sent to Ægina: charged by Crius with bribery.

Chap. 47—51.

§ Descent and privileges of the Lacedæmonian kings.—Lacedæmonian account: descent of Demaratus and Cleomenes.—Origin of the double monarchy.—Greek account.—Persian account.—Privileges of the Lacedæmonian kings: 1st, Those in war; 2nd, Those in peace.—Honours paid at their burial.

Chap. 51—60.

Cleomenes returns to Sparta: tries to depose Demaratus.—Doubtful birth of Demaratus: story of his beautiful mother.—Leutychides swears that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston.—Cleomenes bribes the Pythia.—Demaratus deposed.—Goes to Darius.—Leutychides succeeds Demaratus: his after-history.—Cleomenes sends Æginetan hostages to the Athenians.—His designs respecting Demaratus discovered.—Goes mad and dies.—Causes of his madness.—His previous invasion of Argos.—Leutychides accompanies the Æginetans to Athens.—Athenians refuse to restore the hostages.—Story of Glaucus.—Æginetans seize the Theoris.—Athenians attack Ægina: treachery of Nicodromus.—Nicodromus flies to Sunium.—Æginetans defeated.—Athenians defeated. Chap. 61—93.

IV. *Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, 492.*

Mardonius recalled: Datis and Artaphernes sent to enslave the Athenians.—Enslave Naxos.—Respect Delos.—Levy troops and take hostages from the Islands.—Take Eretria.—Led to Marathon by Hippas.—Athenians advance.—Account of Cimon and Miltiades.—Athenians send to Sparta.—Spartans refuse to march till the full moon.—Dream of Hippas.—Athenians joined by the Plataeans.—Athenians undecided: resolve on a battle.—Greek order of battle.—Marathon, 490.—Persians routed.—Greeks attack the ships.—The slain.—Datis and Artaphernes return to Asia. Chap. 94—120.

§ Account of the Alcmaeonidæ: their conduct at Marathon.—Alcmaeon.—Megacles: story of his marrying Clisthenes' daughter. Chap. 121—131.

§ Account of Miltiades: his Parian expedition.—Fined 50 talents and dies, 489.—Wins Lemnos.—Pelasgi driven from Attica.—Rape of the Athenian women.—Miltiades sails to Lemnos in one day. Chap. 132—140.

SUMMARY.

I. *Suppression of the Ionian Revolt, chap. 1—42.*

- 1 Asiatic Greece. Histæus escapes to Chios.—When Histæus reached Sardis from Susa, (v. 107,) he saw that Artaphernes knew of his participation in the Ionian revolt, for though he pretended to be surprised at what had taken place, the latter said to him, "You have made the shoe, and Aristagoras has put it on." Histæus therefore fled by night to the coast, and instead of reducing Sardinia, as he had promised Darius,

now tried to insinuate himself into the command of the Ionians. Crossing to Chios, Ile of Chios. he was suspected of coming from Darius, and thrown into chains, but released when the truth was discovered. Here the Ionians asked why he had urged the revolt and 3 occasioned them such evils: he deceitfully replied that Darius had resolved to remove the Phœnicians to Ionia, and the Ionians to Phœnicia. He then sent letters to 4 certain Persians at Sardis, who had previously conferred with him on the revolt, but his messenger, Hermippus of Atarnæ, gave the letters to Artaphernes, who desired Hermippus to deliver them as directed, and bring him the answers, on receipt of which he executed several Persians.

Rejected by the Milesians.—Histieus Miletus. 5 then prevailed on the Chians to convey him to Miletus; but the Milesians would not receive another tyrant now Aristagoras was dead, and when Histieus attempted to enter the city by night, he was wounded in the thigh. Thus rejected, he returned to the Chians, who refused to give him ships.

Obtains eight ships from Lesbos, and sails to Byzantium.—He then crossed to Byzantium. Mitylene, and obtained eight triremes from the Lesbians, with which he sailed to Byzantium, and seized all vessels sailing from the Euxine, except such as promised to obey him.

Persians unite their forces against Miletus.—Mean- 6 while the Persian generals were concentrating their forces by land and sea against Miletus. The Phœnicians displayed the greatest zeal in the fleet, and the lately subdued Cyprians, together with the Cilicians and Egyptians, 7 served with them.

Ionian fleet assemble at Lade.—The Lade. Ionians hearing of the advance of the Persians, sent their respective deputies to the Panionium, where they resolved not to levy any land-forces, but that the Milesians should defend their own walls, and all their navy should be manned, and assemble at Lade, a small island opposite Miletus. The Ionians were then joined 8 by the Æolians of Lesbos, and formed their fleet thus:

EAST WING.

WEST WING.

	Mile-	Prie-	Myu-	Tei-	Chi-	Ery-	Pho-	Les-	Sam-
	sians,	nians,	sians,	ans,	ans,	threans,	ceans,	bians,	ans,
Ships	80,	12,	3,	17,	100,	8,	3,	70,	60;

making together 353 triremes.

- 9 **Persians send the Tyrants to the Ionians.**—The Persians had 600 ships, but fearing the strength of the revolted confederacy, they summoned the Ionian tyrants who had been deposed by Aristagoras and were then serving in the Persian army, and desired each to detach his own countrymen from the rebels, by proclaiming pardon if they would now desert, but slavery if they refused.
- 10 Each of the tyrants sent their overtures to their countrymen secretly and separately, but in every case the Ionians
- 11 spurned the treachery. The latter then held several councils at Lade, when Dionysius, the Phocæan commander, persuaded them to place their fleet under his
- 12 guidance ; but after exercising their crews for seven days they grew weary, and refusing to obey him, pitched their tents on the island.
- 13 **Desertion of the Samians and Lesbians.**—The Samians seeing this mutiny, and knowing the resources of Darius, accepted the offer of their former tyrant, *Æaces*, son of
- 14 *Syloson* ; and when the engagement commenced, they all sailed for Samos, (except 11 ships, whose captains refused to obey their commanders,) and the Lesbians followed their example, with many of the Ionians. The captains of the 11 ships afterwards had their names engraved on a column in the forum at Samos.
- 15 **Battle of Lade : defeat of the Ionian fleet.**—Of those who remained, the Chians, who were most valiant, suffered the most. They had 40 chosen citizens serving as marines on board of each of their 100 ships, and they persisted in cutting through the enemy's line and taking their ships
- 16 until they lost most of their own. With the remainder they sailed to Mycale, and marched through the continent to Ephesus, which they reached at night, and during the celebration of the *Thesmophoria* ; and here being mistaken for robbers coming to seize the women, they
- 17 were slain. Dionysius, the Phocæan, perceiving the ruin of the Ionians, and having taken three of the ene-

my's ships, sailed to Phœnicia, and thence, after plundering some merchantmen, to Sicily; whence he started as a pirate, attacking only the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians.

Persians enslave Miletus.—The Persians having thus conquered the Ionians, besieged Miletus by land and sea, and took it in the 6th year of the revolt, and reduced it to slavery, as the oracle had foretold. For when the Argives consulted at Delphi respecting their city, the Pythia gave them a double answer, one relating to themselves, (c. 77,) and the other saying as follows :

“ Miletus, thou contriver of dark deeds,
Shalt be a banquet and rich gift to many;
Thy wives shall wash the feet of long-haired masters,
And e'en our temple shall be kept by others.”

All this oracle was fulfilled, and the temple pillaged and burnt. Its sacred treasures are mentioned by Herodotus elsewhere (i. 92; ii. 159; v. 36). The Milesian prisoners were carried to Susa, and settled by Darius in the city Ampe, on the Erythræan near the mouth of the Tigris. The Persians kept the city and plain of Miletus for themselves, but gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasum.

Sympathy for the Milesians.—The Sybarites, who inhabit Laos and Scidrus, showed no sympathy for the Milesians, though when Sybaris was taken by the Crotonians, all the Milesians shaved their heads and mourned greatly, the two cities being in strict friendship. The Athenians, however, were excessively grieved at the capture, and when Phrynichus composed a drama upon it, the whole theatre burst into tears, and fined him 1000 drachmæ [£40] for reviving the memory of the misfortune, and ordered that it should never be re-acted.

Samians sail for Cale Acte.—The wealthy of the Samians were so displeased at the conduct of their commanders in deserting from the Ionians, that before *Æces* could arrive, they accepted an invitation from the Zancleans, and sailed for Cale Acte in Sicily, facing Tyrrhenia, with such Milesians as escaped.

Take Zancle.—On their way they touched at the coun-

Miletus on the
Meander.

Island of Sicily.

- try of the Epizephyrian Locri, whilst the Zancleans under their king, Scythes, were besieging a Sicilian city, and by the advice of Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, seized Zancle, which was then undefended. The Zancleans then called in the aid of their ally, Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, who, however, put Scythes and his brother Pythagoras in chains, and sent them to Inycus. Hippocrates then agreed with the Samians that he should have half of the goods and slaves in the city, and all that was in the country; so keeping the greater number of Zancleans as slaves, he gave up 300 of the chief citizens to the Samians to be executed, who, however, spared their lives.
- 24 Scythes afterwards escaped to Himera, and from there to Asia, and visited Darius, who considered him to be the most upright of all Greeks, for when he permitted him to revisit Sicily, he returned again to Persia, where he died of old age.
- 25 **Æaces restored to the tyranny of Samos: Persians subdue Caria.**—After the battle of Lade, the Persians ordered the Phœnicians to carry Æaces to Samos, and the Samians alone of all the rebels preserved their city and temples from the flames. After taking Miletus, the Persians subdued Caria, some of the cities being taken by force and others surrendering.
- 26 **Histiæus conquers Chios.**—Whilst Histiaëus was at Byzantium (c. 5) he heard that Miletus was taken, and leaving his affairs on the Hellespont under the management of Bisaltes of Abydos, he sailed with some Lesbians to Chios, where he routed the garrison at Coeli, and vanquished the rest of the Chians in a sally from Polichne.
- 27 **Presages of the calamities at Chios.**—The deity is wont to give some previous warning when any great calamities are about to befall any city or nation, and great warnings had happened to the Chians. Out of 100 youths whom they had sent to Delphi, only two returned home, 98 being carried off by a pestilence; and out of 120 school-boys upon whom a roof fell in, only one escaped. Then followed the disastrous defeat at Lade, and the shattered remnant were now easily subdued by Histiaëus.
- 28 **Histiæus taken and crucified.**—After conquering

Chios, Histæus attacked Thasus, but hearing that the Phœnicians were sailing from Miletus against the rest of Ionia, he hastened to Lesbos, whence, driven by famine, he crossed to Mysia to carry off the harvests of Atarneus. Harpagus, the Persian general, chancing to be there, instantly engaged with him, and after some resistance defeated his army, chiefly by the aid of cavalry. Histæus still hoped to escape punishment from Darius, 29 so being overtaken and on the point of being stabbed by a Persian, he discovered himself and was taken prisoner. Herodotus thinks that if he had been taken alive to Darius, he would have been pardoned, and for this very reason Artaphernes and Harpagus, fearing that he 30 might regain his influence, crucified his body at Sardis and sent his head to Susa. Darius blamed the murderers, and ordered the head to be washed and honourably interred, as that of a benefactor both to himself and the Persians.

Persians enslave Ionia a 3rd time, 497.—The Persian fleet, after wintering at Miletus, set sail and took Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, with the Ionian cities on the continent. The Persians netted the islanders by extending from sea to sea, and marching over each island. They made eunuchs of the handsomest youths, sent the 32 fairest virgins to the king, and burnt the cities, temples and all. The Ionians were thus enslaved a third time: 1st, By the Lydians (i. 28); 2nd, By the Persians (i. 159); and 3rd, By the Persians (vi. 18).

Subdue the Chersonesus, etc.—The Persians then sub- 33 dued all the Greek towns on the European side of the Hellespont, viz. the Chersonesus which includes Perinthus, the fortified towns towards Thrace, and Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantines and Chalcedonians fled before the approach of the Phœnician fleet, and founded Mesambria, on the Euxine. The Phœnicians burnt all these towns and turned towards Proconnesus and Artace, which they also devoted to the flames, and then returned and wasted all the cities of the Chersonesus except Cardia. Cyzicus was preserved, having previously capitulated with Ebæres, son of Megabazus, and governor of Dascylium. Miltiades, son of Cimon, was till this time 34

tyrant of the Chersonesus, which had been thus acquired by his ancestor Miltiades, son of Cypselus. (*Continued at chap. 40.*)

§ *History of the Chersonesus, chap. 34—40.*

Thracian Chersonesus, or Peninsula of the Dardanelles.

Anciently held by the Thracian Dolonci.

—The Thracian Dolonci had formerly occupied the Chersonesus, but being harassed by the Apsynthians, had sent their kings to Delphi, where the oracle desired them to take with them to their country to found a colony the first man who should offer them hospitality after leaving the temple.

- Miltiades, son of Cypselus, tyrant, 560.**—The Dolonci passed uninvited through Phocis and Bœotia, and then turned towards Athens. Pisistratus was now tyrant, and Miltiades, son of Cypselus, a man of family and influence; who had won the prize in the Olympic four-horse chariot-race, and traced their descent from Æacus and Ægina. Philæus was the first of this family who was naturalized at Athens. Miltiades entertained the Dolonci, and they acquainted him with the oracle; and he, being weary of Pisistratus, and again encouraged by the Pythia, sailed with the Dolonci and such Athenians as were willing to join them, and became their tyrant. He then, to repel the Apsynthians, built a wall from Cardia to Pactya, across the Chersonesus, which is 36 stadia [4½ miles] broad and 420 stadia [52½ miles] long; and he then attacked the Lampsaceni-
 35
 36
 37
 38
 39
- Stesagoras.**—Miltiades afterwards died childless, leaving the government to Stesagoras, son of his maternal brother Cimon, and gymnastic and equestrian games were instituted after his death, at which no Lampsaceni-ans were allowed to contend. Stesagoras afterwards died childless, being killed by an axe in the Prytaneum by a pretended deserter.
- Miltiades, son of Cimon.**—Miltiades, brother of Stesagoras, was sent by the Pisistratidæ to succeed him; for though they had slain his father, Cimon, (c. 103,) yet

they had treated him kindly. On reaching the Chersonesus, Miltiades kept at home under the pretence of honouring Stesagoras, but when the chief persons from the different cities came to condole with him, he threw them into chains. He thus obtained the Chersonesus, and maintained 500 auxiliaries, and married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace. Three years previous to the attack of the Phœnicians, the Scythian nomads had invaded the Chersonesus, and Miltiades had fled until their departure. 40

Miltiades escapes to Athens. — When Miltiades heard that the Phœnicians were at Tenedos, he filled five triremes with his property, and sailed to Athens, but was attacked by the Phœnicians in the gulf of Melas and escaped to Imbros, and thence to Athens, after losing one trireme commanded by his eldest son, Metiochus. As Miltiades had advised the Ionians to unmoor the Ister bridge, (iv. 137,) the Phœnicians sent Metiochus to Darius, who however gave him a house and estate, and a Persian wife. 41

Persians stay hostilities, 496. — For this year the Persians stayed hostilities; but Artaphernes assembled deputies from the different cities, and compelled the Ionians to agree to submit to the laws; he then measured their lands by parasangs, and taxed them as before. 42

II. Expedition of Mardonius, chap. 43—47.

Mardonius establishes democracies, 495.

Next spring, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, a young man who had married Artazostra, the daughter of Darius, having superseded the other generals, arrived with a large army and navy in Cilicia. He sent his army to the Hellespont, and sailed with his fleet to Ionia, where he deposed the tyrants, and established democracies, a fact which will astonish those Greeks who did not believe that Otanes counselled a democracy for Persia (iii. 80). He then hastened to the Hellespont, and crossing it, marched through Europe, 43

Western Asia
Minor.

ostensibly to subdue Eretria and Athens, but designing to reduce all the Greek cities.

EUROPE.

Macedonia.

Conquers the Thasians and Macedonians : wrecked at Athos.—His fleet conquered the

Thasians, and his land-force those Macedonians that remained unsubdued. His fleet then coasted towards Acanthus, and tried to double Mount Athos, but a north wind wrecked, it is said, 300 ships, whilst 20,000 men were drowned, or destroyed by the sea-monsters which abound there. Meanwhile Mardonius and his land-forces were encamped in Macedonia, and attacked at night by the Thracian Brygi, who slew many and wounded Mardonius, who however subsequently enslaved them, and retreated into Asia.

46 **Thasians demolish their wall and transport their ships, 493.**—In the 2nd year after this, the Thasians, having been accused by their neighbours of designing a revolt, were commanded by Darius to demolish the wall they had built when besieged by Histæus, and to send their ships to Abdera. Their wall had been strengthened and their fleet increased by the revenue they derived from the gold mines at Scapte-Hyle, which amounted to 80 talents [£19,200] yearly, and from those in Thasus, together with that derived from their possessions on the continent: all together from 200 to 300 talents [£48,000
47 and £72,000] yearly. Herodotus saw these mines: the most wonderful were discovered by the Phœnicians in Thasus, between Ænyra and Cœnyra, opposite Samothrace, and a mountain has been subverted in the search. The Thasians obeyed Darius. (*Continued at chap. 94.*)

III. (*Digress.*) *War between Athens and Ægina, and history of Cleomenes and Demaratus, chap. 48—93.*

48 **Darius demands earth and water.**—After this Darius sent heralds to different parts of Greece demanding earth and water, and commanding the tributary cities on the coast to build war-ships and transports for horses.

49 **Æginetans accused of betraying Greece.**—Many of the Asiatic Greeks with all the islanders complied, including the Æginetans, upon which the Athenians, thinking that

the Æginetans meditated attacking them in conjunction with the Persians, went to Sparta and charged them with betraying Greece.

Cleomenes sent to Ægina: charged by Crius with 50 bribery.—Cleomenes, one of the Spartan kings, then crossed over to Ægina to seize the most culpable citizens, but was opposed by other Æginetans, and especially by Crius, who charged him with being bribed by the Athenians, otherwise he would have been accompanied by Demaratus, the other king of Sparta. Crius [lit. *a ram*] had been directed by Demaratus to make this charge, but was now punningly advised by Cleomenes to tip his horns with brass, as he would have to contend with great misfortunes. Meanwhile Demaratus was aspers- 51 ing Cleomenes at home. (*Continued at chap. 61.*)

§ *Descent and privileges of the Lacedæmonian kings, chap. 51—60.*

Descent of Demaratus and Cleomenes.—

Demaratus was descended from Procles, who founded the junior branch of the royal family, and Cleomenes from Eurysthenes, the founder of the senior branch; and though both kings were sprung from the same origin, yet the latter was more honoured on account of this seniority.

PELOPON-
NEUS.
—
Lacedæmon.

Lacedæmonian account of their kings.—The Lacedæ- 52 monians, in contradiction to all the poets, say that their king Aristodemus himself, and not his sons, first brought them to the country which they now inhabit.

Origin of the double monarchy.—This Aristodemus married Argeia, but died soon after his wife had given birth to twins. The Lacedæmonians desired to make the elder king, but the mother, wishing both to be kings, declared that she did not know them apart. The oracle was consulted, who ordered both children to be made kings, but the eldest to be most honoured. The Lacedæmonians were still in doubt as to which was the eldest, when Panites of Messene advised them to observe which one was first dressed and fed by its mother. This was done, and the one first dressed was considered to be the senior. The eldest was then named Eurysthenes,

and the younger Procles. On arriving at manhood, the brothers were always at variance, and their descendants have perpetuated the dissension.

- 53 **Greek account.**—The rest of the Greeks agree in saying, that the kings of the Dorians, up to Perseus, son of Zeus and Danae, were Greeks. Perseus having no mortal father, Herodotus will not carry up the descent higher, but if we ascend above Danae the daughter of Acrisius, we find the ancestors of the Dorian kings to have been originally Egyptians.
- 54 **Persian account.**—The Persians state that Perseus, being by birth an Assyrian, became a Greek, but they agree with the Greeks in saying, that the ancestors of Acrisius were not related to Perseus, but were Egyptians.
- 55 By what exploits the Egyptians became kings of the Dorians, Herodotus omits to mention.
- 56 **Privileges of the Lacedæmonian kings: 1st, Those in war.**—The Spartans give their kings the following privileges during war. 1. The two priesthoods of the Lacedæmonian and heavenly Zeus. 2. The power to levy war against any country they please, any Spartan opposing falling under a curse. 3. The front rank in battle, but the rear in retreat. 4. A guard of 100 men in the field. 5. The power during an expedition of sacrificing as many cattle as they please, and of taking the skins and chins of the victims for their share.
- 57 **2nd, Those in peace.**—1. The first seat and first serving at sacrificial feasts. 2. A double portion of the food. 3. The right of beginning the libations. 4. The skins of the victims. 5. At every new moon and 7th day of the month each of them receives a perfect victim for the temple of Apollo, with a medimnus [11 gallons and 7 pints] of meal, and a Laconian quart of wine. 6. The first seats at public games. 7. The right to appoint Proxeni [persons to receive foreign ambassadors]. 8. The right of choosing two Pythii, persons sent to consult the Delphic oracle, who are kept at the public expense. 9. When absent from the banquet, four choenices [four quarts] of flour and a cotyle [half pint] of wine. 10. When present, a double portion of every thing, both at public and private tables. 11. The right of keeping the

oracles, to which however the Pythii have access. 12. The sole power of determining the marriage of virgin heiresses; the public highways; and, the adoption of children. 13. The sitting in council with the 28 senators; and on their absence, their prerogative is exercised by their nearest relations amongst the senators.

Honours paid at their burial.—1. Horsemen announce 58 the event through all Laconia, and women beat a cauldron through the city. 2. A free man and woman of each house are obliged, under the penalty of heavy fines, to disfigure themselves as mourners. 3. Several thousand Lacedæmonians, Helots, and Spartans attend the funeral with loud lamentations, and strike their foreheads and declare that he was the best king they ever had. The Asiatics have a similar custom. When the king dies in war, his image is exposed on a richly ornamented couch, and public business suspended for 10 days. These customs 59 the Spartans have chiefly in common with the Persians. A new king of Sparta also remits all debts due to his predecessor or to the public, in the same way that amongst the Persians he remits all arrears of tribute. The Lace- 60 dæmonians also resemble the Egyptians in this respect; their heralds, musicians, and cooks succeed to their fathers' professions, irrespective of their voice or other qualifications.

Cleomenes returns to Sparta: tries to depose Demaratus.—Cleomenes, on his return to Sparta, aimed at deposing Demaratus, upon a charge founded on the following circumstance. 61

Doubtful birth of Demaratus, story of his beautiful mother.—Ariston, father of Demaratus and king of Sparta, had married two wives, who proving barren, he took a third. This last was the wife of his friend Agetus: when she was a child, from being ugly and deformed she had become the most beautiful woman in Sparta; for her nurse having taken her into the temple of Helen, and entreated the goddess to remove her deformity, a woman appeared, and after many entreaties was permitted to stroke the child's head, from which day her appearance

- 62 changed. Ariston having agreed with Agetus that each should give the other whatever he most desired from their several possessions, he first gave Agetus what he asked, and then demanded his wife. Agetus was reluctantly compelled by his oath to assent, and Ariston then put away his second wife and took his friend's wife.
- 63 **Leutychides swears that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston.**—Within 10 months after the marriage this third wife gave birth to Demaratus. Ariston was sitting on a bench with the Ephori when the news was brought to him, and he said, with an oath, "It cannot be mine." The Ephori however took no notice, and Ariston subsequently repented of his saying, being assured that the child was his own; and as the Spartans had offered up public supplications that he might have a son, he named it Demaratus [lit. *granted to the people's prayers*]. Ariston afterwards died and Demaratus succeeded to the
- 64 throne, but having incurred the hatred of Cleomenes,
- 65 first, for deserting him at Eleusis, (v. 75,) and secondly, by his aspersions, (c. 50, 51, 61,) Cleomenes persuaded Leutychides to swear that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston, and agreed to make him king instead if he would accompany him against the Æginetans. Leutychides hated Demaratus, for depriving him of Percalus, daughter of Chilon, to whom he was affianced; he therefore made oath accordingly, and called the Ephori as witnesses.
- 66 **Cleomenes bribes the Pythia.**—The Spartans then inquired at Delphi if Demaratus was the son of Ariston, but Cleomenes gained over one Cobon, a man of influence there, who persuaded Perialla, the chief prophetess, to decide as Cleomenes wished. In after times this became known, and Cobon was compelled to fly, and Perialla was degraded.
- 67 **Demaratus deposed.**—Demaratus was then deposed, and chosen a magistrate, but one day being present at the Gymnopædiæ, Leutychides, who was then king, insulted him, by asking what he thought of being a magistrate after being a king. Demaratus replied, that the question would produce either infinite calamity, or infinite prosperity to the Lacedæmonians. He then left the theatre, and after sacrificing an ox to Zeus at his own house, he

sent for his mother, and placing a part of the entrails in 68
her hands, he begged her to tell him who was really his
father. She replied, that on the 3rd night after entering 69
Ariston's house, a form similar to Ariston appeared to
her, and placed a crown upon her head, which was after-
wards found to have been taken from the shrine of Astra-
bacus. She added, that he must therefore be the son
either of Astrabacus or Ariston.

Goes to Darius.—Demaratus, having heard all he wish- 70
ed, proceeded to Elis, pretending that he was going to
Delphi; and though pursued by the Lacedæmonians yet
escaped to Zacynthus, where the people would not give
him up, and from thence to Asia, where he was kindly
received by Darius. He was the only king of Sparta
who had obtained an Olympic victory in the four-horse
chariot-race.

Leutychides succeeds Demaratus: his after history.— 71
Leutychides succeeded Demaratus. He was twice mar-
ried. By his 1st wife he had Zeuxidemus, who died
before him, leaving one son, Archidamus, who married
Lampito, the daughter and only child of Leutychides by
his 2nd wife. Leutychides was afterwards discovered 72
to have accepted a bribe whilst commanding the army in
Thessaly, and was banished from Sparta, and his house
razed. He then fled to Tegea, where he died.

Cleomenes sends Æginetan hostages to the Athenians. 73
—When Leutychides was made king he joined Cleomenes
against the Æginetans, who resisted no farther, but gave
up 10 of their most eminent citizens, including Crius,
(c. 50,) and Casambus, the chief magistrate, as a pledge
to the Athenians.

His designs discovered.—After this the designs of 74
Cleomenes against Demaratus were discovered, and he
fled to Thessaly, and from thence to the Arcadians, whom
he tried to rouse against Sparta, and sought to lead their
chief men to swear by the Styx, a fountain in the Arca-
dian city of Nonacris, dropping from a rock into a hollow,
with a fence of masonry.

Goes mad and dies.—The Lacedæmonians, hearing this, 75

recalled him to his former dignity, after which he was seized by madness, and would thrust his sceptre into the face of a Spartan ; accordingly he was confined in wooden fetters, but persuading his guard, who chanced to be one of his own Helots, to give him a knife, he slashed his flesh from his legs to his belly till he died.

Causes of his madness.—Five reasons have been given for the madness of Cleomenes.

1st, The Greeks in general think it was occasioned by his bribing the Pythia to answer against Demaratus (c. 69).

76 **2nd, The Athenians** say it was because in his invasion of Eleusis he had cut down the grove of the goddesses [Demeter and Persephone].

3rd, The Argives say that it was because he had burnt their sacred grove, and slain those Argives who had taken refuge there.

His previous invasion of Argos.—Cleomenes, being prompted by the Delphic oracle, had invaded Argos, but on sacrificing to the Erasinus, which is said to flow from the Lake Stymphalia, and re-appear in Argos, the victims gave no favourable omen, whereupon he retired to Thyrea, after admiring the Erasinus for not betraying its people. At Thyrea he sacrificed a bull to the sea, and carried his
77 troops in ships to Tiryns and Nauplia, where the Argives marched to meet him. The Argives were not afraid of a pitched battle, but had been warned by the following oracle against an ambuscade :

“ When the soft female shall subdue the male,
Expel him, and gain glory 'mongst the Argives,
Then will the Argive women rend their garments,
And one of future generations say,
A fearful serpent triple-coiled has perished
Prostrate beneath the spear.”

Accordingly the Argives ordered their own herald to
78 sound whenever the Spartan herald did. Upon this, Cleomenes ordered his herald to sound when the Argives were dining, and then falling upon them, he slew many, whilst the rest fled to the sacred grove, round which the
79 Spartans immediately stationed themselves. Cleomenes then summoned each Argive by name, pretending that he

had received their ransom, which among the Peloponnesians is two minæ [£8] for each prisoner. As he called them out he killed them, and had slain 50 before he was discovered, after which they refused to come. He then 80 ordered his Helots to heap wood round the grove and set it on fire, and hearing that it belonged to Argus, he saw that he had thus fulfilled the oracle which had declared he should take Argos. He then sent most of his troops 81 to Sparta, and went with 1000 men to sacrifice at the temple of Hera; but the priest resisting him as being a foreigner, he ordered his Helots to drag the priest from the altar and scourge him, whilst he himself sacrificed. He then returned to Sparta, when his enemies accused 82 him to the Ephori of being bribed not to take Argos, to which he replied by saying that "he considered himself to have fulfilled the oracle when he took the temple of Argus, and therefore could not attempt the city till he had consulted the victims; and that upon sacrificing in the temple of Hera, a flame burst from the breast of the image, which convinced him that he could not take the city, whilst if it had burst from the head his success would have been certain." The Spartans then acquitted Cleomenes. Argos, however, was so bereft of men, that 83 the slaves usurped the government till the sons of the slain had grown up and recovered the city. The exiled slaves then took and occupied Tiryns, and lived peaceably until Cleander, a prophet, persuaded them to attack the Argives, and an obstinate war ensued, which was at last ended by the Argives obtaining the upper hand.

4th, The Spartans say that the madness of Cleomenes 84 arose from his excessive drinking of pure unmixed wine, a habit he learnt from some Scythians who came to request him to invade Media from Ephesus, whilst they entered near the Phasis.

5th, Herodotus thinks that Cleomenes suffered in retribution for his conduct to Demaratus.

Leutychides accompanies the Æginetans 85 to Athens.—When the Æginetans were informed of the death of Cleomenes, they sent to Sparta to complain of Leutychides, on account of the hostages detained at Athens (c. 73).

CENTRAL
GREECE.
—
Athens.

The Lacedæmonians then determined to give up Leutychides in retaliation; but Theasides, a Spartan, represented to the Æginetans the danger of taking away the king of Sparta during a mere angry fit of its citizens, so they accordingly set him free on his agreeing to accompany them to Athens and restore the hostages.

- 86 **Athenians refuse to restore the hostages.**—On Leutychides arriving there, the Athenians refused to restore the hostages to one king, as they had been left by two, when Leutychides told them the following story of one Glaucus, a Lacedæmonian, who was renowned for justice.

Story of Glaucus.—"A certain Milesian once confided to this Glaucus half his property, with certain tokens that the latter might know to whom to restore it. Subsequently, when the sons of the Milesian applied to Glaucus for the deposit, the latter deferred settling the matter for four months, and then consulted the Delphic oracle whether he should break his oath or not. The Pythia thus replied:

'O Glaucus, thus to triumph by an oath—
To make a booty of the stranger's money,
May be a present gain. Then quickly swear!
Death even takes the man who keeps his oath:
But lo! the nameless son of Perjury,
With neither hands nor feet, swiftly pursues,
And seizes and destroys the fated race.
But he who keeps his oath is doubly blessed.'

Glaucus then asked pardon for his speech, but was told that to tempt the god and commit the crime were the same; and though he afterwards restored the money to the Milesian, yet no trace of his descendants or property afterwards existed." The Athenians, however, would not restore the 10 men, and Leutychides returned to Sparta.

- 87 **Æginetans seize the Theoris.**—The Æginetans failing in getting back the 10 hostages, seized the Theoris, [a sacred vessel, sent annually from Athens to Delos, with sacrifices for Apollo,] as it lay off Sunium, and threw the crew, which consisted of the chief Athenians, into irons.

- 88 **Athenians attack Ægina: treachery of Nicodromus.**—The Athenians now resolved on vengeance, for they

had not yet punished the Æginetans for ravaging Attica to gratify the Thebans; and Nicodromus, an Æginetan, who was angry with his countrymen, agreed to betray Ægina on certain conditions, on a particular day. Accordingly, Nicodromus seized the old town, but the Athenians, having been obliged to ask the Corinthians for more ships, came a day too late, though the latter at once granted them 20 on hire, at 5 drachmæ [about 4s.] each (their law forbidding them to lend ships for nothing). The Athenians in all took 70 ships to Ægina. 89

Nicodromus flies to Sunium.—Nicodromus, seeing that the Athenians did not arrive, fled with many of the Æginetans, and the Athenians gave them Sunium to occupy, from whence they subsequently issued, to harass and plunder Ægina. Meantime the wealthy Æginetans overcame the common people, who were the partisans of Nicodromus, and led out 700 to execution, when one of them escaping to the temple of Demeter the legislatress, they cut off his hands, and dragged him away, leaving the fingers sticking to the ring-handle on the door. For this sacrilege they were afterwards driven from the island. 90

Æginetans defeated.—After this the Athenians reached Ægina with their 70 vessels, and engaged and conquered the Æginetans, who then applied for aid to the Argives. The Argive government refused, for the following reason. When Cleomenes invaded Argos, (c. 76, 77,) he seized some Æginetan vessels, and was joined by their crews, together with some Sicyonians, in attacking the Argives. The latter subsequently imposed a fine of 1000 talents [£240,000] on Sicyon and Ægina. The former paid her half of the amount, but the latter refused, and the sum still remained unpaid. Eurybates however, with 1000 Argive volunteers, joined the Æginetans, but they were nearly all slain by the Athenians; and Eurybates, having killed three antagonists in single combat, was slain by Sophanes, the fourth. 91

Athenians defeated.—Subsequently the Æginetans engaged the Athenians whilst the latter were in disorder, and gained a victory and took four ships with the crews. 92

IV. *Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, chap.*
94—120.

- 94 **Mardonius recalled : Datis and Artaphernes sent against Greece, 492.**—Meanwhile Darius having been perpetually urged by the Pisistratidæ, and told by his slave to “Remember the Athenians,” (v. 135,) determined to subdue those Greeks who had refused him earth and water. Accordingly he removed Mardonius, who had been unsuccessful at sea, and appointed Datis and Artaphernes, son of his own brother Artaphernes, in his place, and sent them to enslave the Eretrians and Athenians, and bring them
- 95 before him. The new commanders then advanced with a body of infantry to Aleium, in Cilicia, and encamping there were joined by the naval force and horse transports demanded from the tributaries.
- Enslave Naxos.**—The horse and foot then sailed for Ionia, in 600 triremes, and as, 1st, they feared to double Athos, where Mardonius had been wrecked (c. 44); and, 2nd, desired to subdue Naxos; they loosed from Samos, and instead of coasting to Thrace, steered in a straight line through the Icarian sea to Naxos, which they determined to subdue first, remembering the former unsuccessful
- 96 siege (v. 34). The Naxians now fled to the mountains, but the Persians burnt the city and temples, and enslaved all they could find.
- 97 **Respect Delos.**—Meanwhile the Delians had fled to Tenos, but Datis, forbidding the fleet to anchor at Delos, proceeded to Rhenea, and from thence sent a herald to the Delians, assuring them that he would not ravage the birth-place of the two deities, [Apollo and Artemis,] and begging them to return. Datis then offered 300 talents
- 98 [$7\frac{1}{2}$ tons] of incense on one of their altars, and advanced against Eretria, and the Delians say, that on his departure Delos was shaken by an earthquake, which had never happened before nor since. This, Herodotus thinks, was a forewarning of the evils Greece should suffer from Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, under whom more disasters befell Greece than during the 20 previous generations.

Moreover, in an oracle respecting Delos, it was written,

“I will move Delos, though till now unmoved!”

The names of the three kings may be thus rendered in Greek.—Darius, the coercer: Xerxes, the warrior: Artaxerxes, the great warrior.

Levy troops and take hostages from the islands.— 99

The Persians, sailing from Delos, touched at the islands, and levied troops and took hostages from each. The Carystians refused to give hostages or serve against Eretria and Athens, and their lands were ravaged till they had submitted to the Persians.

Take Eretria.—Whilst the Persians approached the Eretrians, the latter applied to the Athenians, who sent them the 4000 men who had settled in the lands of the Chalcidian Hippobotæ (v. 77). But one party of the Eretrians advised a retreat into the interior of Eubœa, and others prepared to betray their country to the Persians: the 4000 therefore, by the advice of Æschines, a noble Eretrian, passed over to Oropus. Meantime the Persians took Tamynæ, Chœrea, and Ægilia; and invested Eretria, whose citizens only tried now to defend their walls. After an attack of six days, Eretria was betrayed on the seventh by Euphorbus and Philagrus, and the Persians burnt and plundered the temples in revenge for those burnt at Sardis, and enslaved the inhabitants. 100

Island of
Eubœa.

Led to Marathon by Hippias.—After a few days' rest the Persians sailed to Attica, and were led by Hippias to the plain of Marathon, being the best spot in Attica for cavalry, and the nearest to Eretria. 101

Attica.

Athenians advance.—Upon this the Athenians also marched there under 10 generals, amongst whom was Miltiades, whose father, Cimon, had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus (c. 39). 102

Account of Cimon and Miltiades.—During his exile, Cimon had won the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot-race, and transferred the honour to his maternal brother, Miltiades. In the next Olympiad he again won the prize with the same mares, and conceded the victory to

- Pisistratus, on condition of being recalled. A third time he gained the prize with the same mares, but was afterwards assassinated, by command of the sons of Pisistratus. These same mares were buried in front of the city, opposite to Cimon. Excepting the mares of Evagoras the Lacedæmonian, none others had ever achieved this feat. At this time, Stesagoras, the eldest son of Cimon, resided with his uncle Miltiades, in the Chersonesus; and Miltiades, the younger son, stayed with his father at Athens, and afterwards succeeded his brother Stesagoras in the
- 104 government of the Chersonesus (c. 39). This younger Miltiades had escaped to Imbros from the Phœnicians, and from thence to Athens, where he was accused of aiming at the sovereignty of the Chersonesus, but acquitted, and chosen general of the Athenians (c. 41).
- 105 **Athenians send to Sparta.**—Before the 10 Lacedæmon. generals left Athens, they sent Phidippides, a professional courier, to Sparta. This man declared that he was met by Pan near Mount Parthenius, above Tegea, who bade him ask the Athenians why they neglected him when he was so well disposed towards them. Upon which the Athenians, as their affairs were then prospering, built a temple to Pan beneath the Acropolis, and instituted to him yearly sacrifices and the torch-race.
- 106 **Spartans refuse to march till the full moon.**—Phidippides, on arriving at Sparta, begged the magistrates to assist the Athenians, which they refused to do, as it was then only the ninth day of the month, and their law forbade them to march before the full moon.
- 107 **Dream of Hippias.**—Meanwhile Hippias Marathon in Attica. had led the Persians to Marathon, having dreamt the night before that he communed with his own mother, from which he inferred that he should recover the sovereignty of Athens, and die an old man. The Eretrian prisoners he had landed at Ægilia, an island belonging to the Styreans, and now drew up the Persians in order as they disembarked at Marathon. Whilst thus employed he lost a tooth from coughing, and being unable to find it, he considered his dream as fulfilled, and that his tooth occupied all the land which should belong to him.

Athenians joined by the Plataeans.—The Athenians 108 now drew up in the precinct of Heracles, and were joined by the whole force of the Plataeans, in requital for former services. For the Plataeans, having been harassed by the Thebans, had requested aid from the Lacedæmonians, who had refused, but advised them to apply to the Athenians. This the Plataeans accordingly did, and when the Thebans renewed the war, they were met by the Athenians, but a battle was prevented by the mediation of the Corinthians, who settled that the Thebans should not molest those Bœotians who did not wish to be considered as such. The Athenians then returned home, but were attacked by the Thebans on the road; they however defeated them, and fixed the Asopus and Hysieæ as the boundary between the Thebans and Plataeans.

Athenians undecided: resolve on a battle.—The 109 Athenian generals were divided respecting an engagement, five voting against it, and five, amongst whom was Miltiades, voting for it; upon which Callimachus the Polemarch, who had a casting vote, was prevailed upon, by the representations of Miltiades of the dissensions which might arise from procrastination, to give it in favour of an attack. The generals who had sided with 110 Miltiades then gave up to him their day's command, as it devolved upon each, in turns; but though Miltiades accepted it, yet he would not engage until his own lawful turn came.

Greek order of battle.—When this arrived the Athe- 111 nians were drawn out in the following order: The right wing was commanded by Callimachus; then followed the tribes in close order, according to their ranks; and the Plataeans formed the left wing. Ever since this battle, in the sacrifices performed by the Athenians every fifth year, the herald implores happiness for the Plataeans conjointly with the Athenians. The Greek line was equal in strength to the Persians, but the centre was weaker than the wings.

Marathon, 490.—The order of battle being formed, the 112 victims favourable, and the signal given, the Athenians charged the Persians in double quick time, though the armies were eight stadia [one mile] distant from each

- other ; and as they had no cavalry nor archers, the enemy considered them as rushing to certain destruction. But the Athenians fought with the utmost bravery ; they were the first Greeks who had charged the enemy at full speed, or withstood troops clad in the Persian garb. The battle lasted long, when the Persians and Sacæ broke through the centre of the Greek line, and pursued the flying foe into the interior. But in both wings the Athenians and Plateæans were victorious, and suffering their opponents to escape, they united in one body and fell on those who had routed their own centre. In this they succeeded, and cutting the Persians to pieces in the pursuit, they reached the shore, and with loud cries for fire attacked the ships.
- 114 **Persians routed : Greeks attack the ships.**—Here Cynægeirus, son of Euphorion, had his hand severed by an axe whilst holding a ship's poop, and was slain. The Polemarch Callimachus also fell with Stesilaus, one of the
- 115 **generals.** The Athenians took seven ships. The Persians escaped with the rest, and taking in the Eretrian slaves from Ægilia, they doubled Sunium in order to reach Athens before the Athenians ; being, according to report, invited there by the Alcmaeonidæ, who held up a shield as a signal when the Persians were under sail
- 116 (c. 121). Meanwhile the Athenians hastened to their city, and posted themselves in another precinct of Hercules at Cynosarges ; but the Persians, after anchoring a short time off Phalerum, sailed for Asia.
- 117 **The slain.**—In the battle of Marathon 6400 Persians fell, and only 192 Athenians. During the fight one Epizelus was said to have been struck blind by the spectre of a heavy-armed man with a large beard, who killed the man who stood by his side.
- 118 **Datis and Artaphernes return to Asia.**—Datis on returning to Asia searched all the ships in consequence of a vision, and finding a gilt image of Apollo aboard a Phœnician vessel, and learning from what temple it had been taken, he took it himself to Delos, and charged the Delians to convey it to Delium of the Thebans. This was neglected for 20 years, when the Thebans themselves
- 119 carried it to Delium in obedience to an oracle. Datis

and Artaphernes took the Eretrian captives to Darius, who seeing them effectually humbled, established them at Ardericca in Cissia, where there is a well which furnishes asphalt, salt, and oil. These three things are drawn up by a rope and pulley, to which half a leathern bottle is attached; and they are then thrown into one receiver, where the asphalt and salt congeal, and the oil, which is black and odorous, is collected, and called Rhadinace. The Eretrians occupied this territory and retained their ancient language in the time of Herodotus. After the full moon, 2000 Lacedæmonians arrived at Athens, and after viewing the slain at Marathon, and praising the Athenians, they returned home. (*Continued at Book VII. c. 1.*) 120

§ *Account of the Alcmaeonidæ, chap. 121—131.*

Conduct at Marathon.—Herodotus cannot believe that the Alcmaeonidæ held up a shield to the Persians, (c. 115,) for they hated tyrants as much as Callias, who was the only Athenian who dared to purchase the goods of Pisistratus when they were sold by auction after his exile. This Callias was famous for his munificence after winning the prize in the Pythian games, and for being the first in the horse-race, and second in the chariot-race; also for suffering his three daughters to select their own husbands. Moreover the Alcmaeonidæ liberated Athens from the Pisistratidæ, (v. 62—65,) and did more than Harmodius and Aristogiton, who by slaying Hipparchus only exasperated the survivors of the tyrants. Neither could they have had any grudge against the Athenians, who highly esteemed them. Still a shield was held up, but by whom Herodotus cannot say. 121 122 123 124

Alcmaeon.—The Alcmaeonidæ were distinguished at Athens from an early period through Alcmaeon, and his son Megacles. This Alcmaeon had assisted the Lydians whom Cræsus had sent to Delphi, (i. 47, 53, 55,) and in return Cræsus sent for him to Sardis, and desired him to take as much gold as he could carry. Alcmaeon entered the royal treasury dressed in a large tunic and buskins, which he filled with ingots, and then stuffed his dress, hair, and mouth, with gold dust. This excited the laugh- 125

ter of Croesus, but enriched his own family, and subsequently enabled him to breed horses which won the Olympic prize.

- 126 **Megacles : story of his marrying Clisthenes' daughter, 570.**—Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, became distinguished from the following circumstance. Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, had a daughter, Agarista, and desiring to give her in marriage to the most accomplished man in Greece, he proclaimed at the Olympic games, after being victorious in the chariot-race, that all who wished to become suitors should come to Sicyon in 60 days, and that in a year after he would
- 127 settle the marriage. Accordingly, suitors from all nations came to Sicyon. Smindyrides the Sybarite, who excelled in luxury, and Damasus of Siris, called "the wise," came from Italy : Amphimnestus the Epidamnian came from the Ionian Gulf : Males the Ætolian also came, brother of that Titormus who surpassed all the Greeks in strength, and retired to the extremity of Ætolia : Leocedes, son of Pheidon, who was descended from that insolent Pheidon, tyrant of the Argives, who removed the Elean umpires and regulated the Olympic games : Amiantus the Arcadian ; Laphanes the Azerian, son of Euphorion, who is said to have entertained the Dioscuri, and Onomastus the Elean, came from the Peloponnesus : Megacles son of Alcmaeon, and Hippoclide famous for his wealth and beauty, came from Athens ; Lysarias from Eubœa ; Diactorides from Thessaly ; Alcon from the
- 128 Molossi. All these were magnificently entertained for one year, during which Clisthenes made trial of their manliness, disposition, learning, and morals, in the Gymnasia, but especially in the banquet. The Athenians pleased
- 129 him most, and amongst these he preferred Hippoclide, both for his manly qualities and because he was related to the Cypselidæ in Corinth. On the day appointed for the marriage, Clisthenes sacrificed 100 oxen, and feasted the suitors and Sicyonians. Whilst the drinking went on, Hippoclide ordered the flute-player to play, and then danced to the time whilst Clisthenes looked suspiciously on. He then ordered a table to be brought in, and first danced Laconian and then Attic figures on it, and

then pitching his head on the table, he gesticulated with his legs. Clisthenes could now restrain himself no longer, but cried, "Son of Tisander, you have danced away your marriage," to which the other replied, "No matter to Hippoclidēs," which answer became a proverb. Clisthenes then gave each of the suitors a talent of silver, [£240,] and gave his daughter to Megacles. From this marriage sprung that Clisthenes who established the tribes and a democracy at Athens (v. 69). Also Hippocrates, who was the father of another Megacles and Agarista. This Agarista married Xanthippus and bore the celebrated Pericles.

§ *Account of Miltiades, chap. 132—140.*

His Parian expedition.—After the victory at Marathon, Miltiades increased in reputation, and prevailed on the Athenians to grant him 70 ships, without specifying the country he wished to invade, but only promising to enrich his followers with abundance of gold. With these he sailed against Paros, pretending that the Parians had sent a trireme with the Persians to Marathon; but his real motive was because Lysagoras a Parian had calumniated him to Hydarnes the Persian. Having driven the Parians within their walls, Miltiades sent a herald to demand 100 talents, [£24,000,] and in case of refusal to threaten to destroy the place. But the Parians would not think of payment, but redoubled the height of their walls wherever they were pregnable. To this point all the Greeks agree, but the Parians say that Miltiades was then advised by Timus, a priestess of the infernal goddesses, [Demeter and Persephone,] to leap the fence enclosing the temple of Demeter Thesmophora, but seeing some prodigy there, he leaped back the same way and dislocated his thigh. He then sailed back after a siege of 26 days. The Parians sent to ask the oracle whether they should punish Timus, who replied that she was not to blame, since she had guided Miltiades to misfortune.

Fined 50 talents and dies.—On reaching Athens Miltiades was accused by Xanthippus and others of deceiving the Athenians, but could

*Ile of Paros
in the Ægean.*

Athens.

make no defence as his thigh was mortifying. His friends recalled his services at Marathon and Lemnos, and he was acquitted of the capital charge, but fined 50 talents [£12,000]. Miltiades died soon after, and his son Cimon paid the fine.

- 137 **Wins Lemnos: Pelasgi driven from Attica.**—Miltiades had thus possessed himself of Lemnos. The Pelasgians had been driven from Attica by the Athenians. Hecatæus says, unjustly, because after the Athenians had given the Pelasgians some land under Hymettus for having built the Acropolis, they desired to have it back when they saw it was well cultivated. The Athenians however declare they acted justly, for the Pelasgians would assault their sons and daughters whenever the latter fetched water from the Nine Springs, no domestic servants being employed by the Greeks at this time; and that at last the Pelasgians plotted against the city. They add, that when they might have put the Pelasgians to death, they simply warned them to leave the country, upon which they went to Lemnos.
- 138 **Rape of the Athenian women.**—The Pelasgians in revenge afterwards carried off to Lemnos the Athenian women, who were celebrating the festival of Diana at Brauron. These women bore sons, and taught them the Attic tongue and Athenian manners, and they proved so formidable to the Pelasgian boys, that the Pelasgian fathers murdered both the Attic women and their sons. For this and a previous crime, when the women killed their husbands, all atrocious deeds are called Lemnian throughout Greece.
- 139 **Miltiades sails to Lemnos in a day.**—The lands, wives, and flocks of the Pelasgians afterwards became barren in consequence of their cruelty, and on consulting the oracle, they were advised to give such satisfaction to the Athenians as they should ask. The Pelasgians then went to Athens, when the Athenians ornamented a couch and filled a table full of good things in the Prytaneum, and commanded them to surrender up their country in a similar condition, which they declared they never would do until a ship sailed in one day from Attica to Lemnos, an achievement which they considered to be impossible.

Many years afterwards, when the Chersonesus was sub- 140
ject to the Athenians, Miltiades sailed from Elsæus to
Lemnos during an Etesian wind, and required the Pelas-
gians to quit Lemnos. The Hephæstians obeyed, but the
Myrinæans not acknowledging the Chersonesus to be
Attica, were besieged until they surrendered.

BOOK VII. POLYMNIA.

HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF DARIUS AND XERXES, WITH THE AFFAIRS
IN GREECE FROM THE DEATH OF MILTIADES TO THE BATTLE
OF THERMOPYLÆ. B. C. 489 TO 480.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Conclusion of the reign of Darius, 489—485.*

Darius prepares for another Greek expedition.—Egyptian revolt.—Dispute of his sons.—Death. Chap. 1—4.

II. *Reign of Xerxes, and progress of his army to Therma.*

Xerxes, 485.—Persuaded by Mardonius, the Aleuadæ, and the Pisistratidæ to attack Athens.—Reduces Egypt, 484.—Calls a council on the Greek war: his speech.—Mardonius advises war.—Artabanus denounces it.—Xerxes enraged with Artabanus.—Changes his resolution: his dreams.—Begins his Greek expedition, 481.—Cuts through the isthmus at Athos.—Description of Athos.—Mode of excavation.—Preparations for bridges and provisions.—Xerxes proceeds to Celenæ.—Reaches Sardis.—Material of the Phœnician and Egyptian bridges over the Hellespont.—Proceeds to Abydos, 480.—Order of the Persian army.—Reaches Abydos.—Reviews his army.—Confers with Artabanus upon expected dangers: dismisses him to Susa.—The army crosses the Hellespont.—Two prodigies.—Land-force reach Doriscus.—Numbering of the army.—Land-force computed.—Land-force of Xerxes, divided according to nations, including their equipments, national origin, and commanders, 1,700,000 in all: I. Infantry: its conduct. II. Cavalry: its conduct.—Navy, with equipments, etc., 1207 triremes in all: its conduct.—Grand review of the land and sea forces.—Xerxes questions Demaratus.—Appoints Mascames governor of Doriscus.—Advances through Thrace.—Thracian tribes.—Reaches Acanthus.—Hospitalities to his army.—Three divisions of land-force.—Progress of the army and navy to Therma.—Visits the outlets of the Peneus. Chap. 5—130.

III. *Contemporaneous affairs in Greece.*

All the Bœotians, except the Thespians and Plateans, send earth and water.—Lacedæmonians seek to atone for the murder of the Persian heralds.—Fear of the Greeks.—Courage of the Athenians.—Send to Delphi.—Follow Themistocles, and prepare a fleet.—Greeks organize a confederacy.—Spies sent to Sardis.—Argives refuse assistance: Argive account.—Other accounts.—Ambassadors sent to Sicily: account of Gelon.—Gelon offers conditional aid, which is refused.—Gelon sends Cadmus to

watch the issue.—Sicilian account.—Corcyraeans promise but withhold assistance.—Cretans refuse aid because not assisted in avenging Minos.—Story of Minos.—Thessalians offer to guard Olympus: 10,000 Greeks join them, but return.—Greeks guard Thermopylae, and station the fleet at Artemisium.—Artemisium.—Pass of Thermopylae.—Greeks proceed to Thermopylae and Artemisium. Chap. 131—178.

IV. *War between the Greeks and Persians till the battle of Thermopylae.*

Persians chase three Greek ships.—Greek fleet retires from Artemisium.—Xerxes' combined forces.—Storm destroys 400 Persian war-ships.—Greek fleet returns to Artemisium.—Persian fleet reach Aphetæ: 15 of their ships taken.—Xerxes marches through Thessaly and Achæa to Malis.—Story of the Laphystian Zeus at Alos.—Proceeds to Trachis.—Greek force at Thermopylae under Leonidas.—Account of Leonidas.—Persians advance: terror of the Greeks.—Persians repulsed by the Greeks.—Ephialtes acquaints Xerxes with the secret path of Anopæa.—Persians under Hydarnes proceed along Anopæa: Phocians fly.—Leonidas alone at Thermopylae with Spartans, Thespians, and Thebans.—Xerxes advances: battle of Thermopylae, 480.—Bravery of Dieneces.—Monuments at Thermopylae.—The Greek survivors.—Thebans surrender.—Xerxes advised by Demaratus.—Exposes the head of Leonidas.—Lacedæmonians previously warned of the invasion of Demaratus. Chap. 179—239.

SUMMARY.

I. *Conclusion of the reign of Darius, 489—485, chap. 1—4.*

Darius prepares for another Greek expedition:—**Egyptian revolt.**—Darius, who had been previously exasperated with the Athenians for the burning of Sardis, was still more incensed when he heard of the defeat at Marathon, and more eager than ever to prosecute the war against Greece. He despatched messengers to every city, demanding still larger levies of men, together with ships, horses, corn, and transports. For three years Asia was kept in agitation; but in the fourth the Egyptians revolted, and whilst preparing to invade both Egypt and Athens, his sons quarrelled for the throne, for according to the Persian customs he was obliged to nominate a successor before marching out on an expedition.

Susa.

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- Dispute of his sons.**—Darius had three sons previous to his accession, by the daughter of Gobryas, and four sons afterwards by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. The two disputants were, Artabazanes, his eldest son by his first wife, and Xerxes, eldest son by his second. Artabazanes pleaded his seniority; and Xerxes, that he was the eldest by the daughter of Cyrus, who freed the Persians. Just then Demaratus arrived at Susa from Sparta, (vi. 70,) and advised Xerxes to add that he was born whilst his father was king, which constituted his right by the Spartan law of succession. Darius yielded to this plea, but Herodotus thinks that he would have appointed Xerxes without it, as he was swayed by Atossa.
- 4 **Death, 485.**—Darius however died during his preparations, in the year after the Egyptian revolt, after reigning 36 years, and was succeeded by Xerxes.

II. *Reign of Xerxes, and progress of his army to Therma, chap. 5—130.*

- 5 **Xerxes, 485:** persuaded by Mardonius, the Aleuadae, and the Pisistratidae to attack Athens.—Xerxes was at first disinclined to a war with Greece, and prepared to
- 6 reduce Egypt only; but Mardonius, his cousin, urged him to attack Athens, representing Europe to be worthy of the king, and wishing himself to be governor of Greece. Meantime the Aleuadae, or kings of Thessaly, sent to entreat Xerxes to invade Greece; whilst the Pisistratidae at Susa incessantly held the same language. The latter also brought with them Onomacritus, an Athenian soothsayer and dispenser of the oracles of Musæus, who had been formerly banished from Athens by Hipparchus, for interpolating in those oracles that the Lemnian islands would sink in the sea. He had since been reconciled to the Pisistratidae, who commended him to Xerxes; and he now recited those oracles which were favourable to an invasion of Greece.
- 7 **Reduces Egypt, 484.**—Xerxes, in the second year after the death of Darius, reduced Egypt to a severer servitude than before, and gave the government to his brother Achæmenes, afterwards slain by Inarus, the Libyan (iii. 15, note).

Calls a council on the Greek war: his speech.— 8

Xerxes now desired to attack Athens, and assembling his nobles, he said, "Since Cyrus overthrew Astyages, the Persian power has never rested, and as Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius have each enlarged the empire, I wish to do the same. I propose to bridge the Hellespont, and march through Europe, and fire Athens, for burning Sardis and opposing Datis and Artaphernes. By reducing Attica and the country of Pelops the Phrygian, [Peloponnesus,] the sky will be the only boundary of Persia, and no city or nation can resist us. It now remains for you to merit my favour by the speedy execution of my purpose, and I will best reward him who brings the fairest army. But that I may not appear self-willed, I now offer the matter for debate."

Mardonius advises war.—Mardonius then lauded the 9 speech of Xerxes, and said, "It would be intolerable if the Persians, after subduing the Sacæ, Indians, Ethiopians, Assyrians, and other powerful nations, solely from the desire of dominion, should not wreak vengeance on those Greeks who first molested us. The Greeks are weak; we have already subdued their children, the Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians; moreover, when I advanced to Macedonia, no Greek opposed me; and they are so foolish as to have bloody wars with each other, though speaking the same language. The Greeks then, O king, will never oppose you and the forces and ships of Asia; but if they should, they will repent it."

Artabanus denounces it.—Artabanus, son of Hystas- 10 pes, then said, "I previously warned Darius against the Scythian war, and would now dissuade Xerxes from a Grecian, for the Greeks are superior to the Scythians, and the Athenians alone defeated Datis and Artaphernes. Suppose now that they only defeat our fleet, and then destroy the Hellespontine bridge, the Persians will then be utterly ruined, and it was Histæus only that prevented the Ionians from breaking up the Ister bridge. Then, deliberate well, O king! The deity hurls his bolt at the mightiest animals, and strips the loftiest mansions and the tallest trees; and thus a large army is often defeated by a small one, for he is a jealous God, and will often destroy them

by fear or lightning, in a manner unworthy of themselves. And do you, O Mardonius, cease to calumniate the Greeks, for by calumny there are two injurers and one injured. If the war is necessary, let us risk our children and do you lead them, but let the king stop at home; and I will stake myself and children upon my words, against those of Mardonius, that if the expedition succeeds let us perish, if it fails let those die. If you still persist in marching against Greece, I here declare that those left behind will hear that Mardonius, after involving his army in great disasters, was torn to pieces by dogs or birds, in Attica or Lacedæmon."

- 11 **Xerxes enraged with Artabanus.**—Xerxes angrily replied: "Your relationship alone, Artabanus, protects you from punishment for your foolish words, but you shall remain behind with the women. If I avenge not myself upon the Athenians reckon me not sprung from Darius son of Hystaspes, of Arsames, Ariaramnes, Teispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, Teispes, and Achæmenes. If we remain quiet, they will not, and all these dominions must therefore either be ours or theirs. Pray, to what dangers shall I expose myself in attacking those men whom Pelops the Phrygian, the slave of my ancestors, so completely subdued, that both they and their country are called after him?"
- 12 **Changes his resolution: his dreams.**—On the following night Xerxes began to meditate, and determined not to attack Greece; but, as the Persians say, having fallen asleep, a tall man appeared and warned him against changing his
- 13 first resolution. The next day Xerxes again assembled his nobles, and announced to them that he would not attack Greece. This news was received with joy; but at
- 14 night the same man appeared to the king and threatened
- 15 to debase him if he did not prosecute the war. Xerxes sent immediately for Artabanus, acquainted him with the facts, and ordered him to sit on the royal throne, and
- 16 then sleep in the royal bed. Artabanus obeyed, and the
- 17 vision appeared to him, and threatened to punish him for
- 18 his advice to Xerxes. Artabanus then, fancying that the vision was about to burn out his eyes with red-hot irons, leaped from the bed, and rushing to Xerxes, told

him that he had formed his previous opinion from seeing the sad end of Cyrus's Massagetan, Cambyses's Ethiopian, and Darius's Scythian, expedition; but that since the gods had interfered, he now retracted it; and at a council held the next day, Artabanus openly pressed the king to begin the war. Soon afterwards Xerxes dreamed that he was crowned with an olive wreath, whose branches covered the whole earth, which the Magi interpreted to signify that all mankind should become his vassals.

Begins his Greek expedition, 481.—After four years of military preparations, reckoning from the reduction of Egypt, Xerxes commenced his march with a larger armament than had ever been previously raised; being greater than that of Darius against the Scythians, that of the Scythians against the Cimmerians, that of the Atridæ against Ilium, or that of the Mysians and Teucrians, who before the Trojan war passed the Bosphorus into Europe, overthrew all the nations of Thrace, and advanced to the Ionian Sea and river Peneus. Infantry, cavalry, horse transports, provisions, and long ships for bridges were collected from almost every Asiatic nation, and rivers were exhausted by the Persian armies.

Cuts through the isthmus at Athos.—Mardonius having been wrecked at Athos, (vi. 43, 45,) the army and people around had been employed for three years in cutting through the isthmus, which was 12 stadia [$1\frac{1}{2}$ mile] broad, and joined Athos to the continent. Triremes were stationed at Elæus in the Chersonesus, from which place the detachments of labourers proceeded, who worked beneath the lash, and under the superintendence of Bubares and Artachæes.

Peninsula of
Athos, project-
ing from Chal-
cidice.

Description of Athos.—Athos is a great and celebrated mountain stretching into the sea [from Chalcidice in Macedonia], and stocked with people. The isthmus is a plain between the Acanthian Gulf and that of Torone, and on it stands Sana, a Greek city. On Mount Athos are the cities of Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, and Cleonæ.

Mode of excavation.—After dividing the ground among the nations, and drawing lines with extended cords near

- Sana, the excavation was made by workmen digging up the soil from the bottom, which was then handed up ladders till it reached the top. With all, except the Phœnicians, the brink of the excavation fell in, because they dug the trench at top and bottom of equal breadths. But the Phœnicians avoided this, by making the opening double the required breadth, and then sloping the sides. Near to the workers was a market supplied with meal
- 24 from Asia. Herodotus thinks that Xerxes ordered this excavation from ostentation, as, 1. The ships might have been easily drawn over the isthmus; and, 2. The trench was dug wide enough for two triremes abreast.

- Preparations for bridges and provisions.**—The same
- 25 labourers were ordered to bridge the Strymon. Xerxes also prepared cables of byblus and white flax for the bridges, and ordered the Phœnicians and Egyptians to lay up provisions for the army, by conveying it from all parts of Asia [Minor] to Leuce-Acte in Thrace, Tyrodiza of the Perinthians, Doriscus, Eion on the Strymon, and Macedonia.

- 26 **Xerxes proceeds to Celænæ.**—Meanwhile
- Route from Susa to Sardis. Xerxes and all his land-forces assembled at Critalla in Cappadocia; and from there having crossed the Halys, they entered Phrygia, and arrived at Celænæ, which contains the sources of the Mæander, and those of the Catarractes, which river rises in the forum and falls into the Mæander. Celænæ also contained the skin of Silenus Marsyas, formed into a leathern bottle, which the Phrygians say was stripped off and
- 27 hung there by Apollo. At Celænæ, Pythius, a Lydian, gave feasts to Xerxes and his army, and offered to contribute money toward the war. Xerxes, learning that he had previously given a golden plane-tree and vine to Darius, and was the richest man living, excepting himself,
- 28 asked Pythius the amount of his wealth, which the latter computed at 2000 silver talents, [£480,000,] and four millions of Daric staters of gold, [£3,250,000] all but
- 29 7000 [£5687 10s.]. He then offered it all to Xerxes, saying that his slaves and farms would be sufficient for his maintenance, but the king, instead of taking it, gave him the 7000 staters to make up the four millions (see c. 38).

Reaches Sardis.—Xerxes then passed Anaua, and a salt lake; Colossæ, where the Lycus disappears for five stadia [more than half a mile]; and then Cydrara, where is a column erected by Cræsus, which indicates the boundaries between Phrygia and Lydia. All the above are Phrygian cities. He then entered Lydia, crossed the Mæander, and passing Callatebus, arrived at Sardis; and from thence sent heralds to all Greece, except Athens and Lacedæmon, to warn the people to prepare feasts, and send earth and water. On his way he met with a beautiful plane-tree, which he presented, with golden ornaments, and intrusted it to the care of one of the Immortals (c. 83). [When Darius had sent to Lacedæmon on a former occasion, the people had thrown the heralds into a well and bade them get their earth and water there, c. 133.]

Material of the Egyptian and Phœnician bridges over the Hellespont.—Meantime the two bridges of boats had been thrown over the Hellespont, reaching from Abydos to the craggy shore between Sestos and Madytus, where subsequently Xanthippus the Athenian general impaled Artayctes, the Persian governor of Sestos, for rapine and sacrilege at the temple of Protesilaus at Elæus (ix. 116). The Phœnicians joined their bridge with cordage of white flax, and the Egyptians united theirs with byblus. The strait is seven stadia [nearly a mile] broad. After they were united they were destroyed by a violent storm. Xerxes then gave the Hellespont 300 lashes and threw into it a pair of fetters and branding instruments, ordering the scourgers to reproach it for its deceit. He then beheaded the architects, and other engineers constructed bridges thus: 360 penteconters and triremes, placed transversely, supported a bridge on the Euxine side, and 314 supported one on the Ægean side, the last being placed along stream to keep up the tension of the cables. Long anchors were then let down, and three openings left for the passage of light vessels. Two cables of flax and four of papyrus were then stretched by capstans between the two shores over the bridges. The thickness and apparent quality of the cables was the same, but the flax was the strongest, each cubit [$1\frac{1}{2}$ feet] weighing a talent [56 lbs]. Rafters

Bridges
between
Abydos and
Sestos.

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were then arranged over the cables, and then brushwood and mould ; and a fence was placed on each side to prevent horses and beasts of burden from being frightened by the sea.

- 37 Route from
Sardis to the
Bridges. **Proceeds to Abydos, 480.**—When the works at the Hellespont and Mount Athos were completed, the army, having wintered at Sardis, marched towards Abydos. At starting, an eclipse of the sun took place, which the Magi interpreted to foreshow to the Greeks the extinction of their cities.
- 38 Pythius, the Lydian, however, was terrified by the prodigy, and, emboldened by Xerxes's gifts, begged that one
- 39 of his five sons might be left behind. Xerxes indignantly refused, and ordered that the eldest should be cut in two, and one half of his body placed on each side of the road, that the army might pass between them.

Order of the Persian Army.

- 40 **Baggage and sumpter beasts.**

A host of various nations
promiscuously mingled,
Comprising about one half
of the **army**.

A space.

One thousand chosen cavalry.

One thousand chosen spearmen,
with reversed lances, ending
in golden apples.

Ten sacred Nisæan
Horses splendidly caparisoned.

Sacred
chariot
of
Zeus,
drawn
by
eight
white
horses.

Chariot of Xerxes
drawn by Nisæan horses.

One thousand chosen spearmen,
of the bravest and noblest,
with erect lances. 41

One thousand chosen cavalry.

Ten thousand chosen infantry
[i. e. the Immortals].
1000 with spears knobbed
with golden pomegranates,
surrounded the 9000, who
bore silver pomegranates.

Ten thousand cavalry.

A space of two stadia
[$\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile].

The remainder of the throng promiscuously mingled.

The conductor of the chariot of Zeus walked on foot,
as no mortal may ascend the seat. Xerxes, in addition,
had a covered carriage, [or kind of palanquin,] into
which he went at pleasure.

Reaches Abydos.—The army marched from Lydia to 42
the Caicus and Mysia, and from there, leaving Mount
Cana on the left, they passed through the plain of Atarnæ to
Carina; then through the plain of Thebes, and passing by
Adramyttium, and the Pelasgian Antandros, left of Mount
Ida, they entered Ilium. Whilst under Ida, thunder and
lightning destroyed many troops. The Scamander was 43
the first stream since they had left Sardis that failed in
supplying the army. Xerxes ascended the Pergamus
[citadel] of Priam, and sacrificed 1000 oxen to the Tro-
jan Athene, whilst the Magi poured out libations in
honour of the heroes. At night a panic seized the camp.
At dawn the army proceeded, leaving Rhoetium, Ophry-
nium, and Dardanus on their left, and the Gergithæ
Teucrians on their right.

Reviews his army.—On reaching Abydos Xerxes re- 44

- viewed his whole army from a throne of white marble placed on a hill ; also a contest between his vessels, in
45 which the Phœnicians of Sidon conquered. Xerxes was at first delighted at seeing the Hellespont filled with his vessels, and the coasts and plains round Abydos covered with his men, but he soon wept on reflecting that not one
46 of that multitude would survive 100 years. Artabanus tried to re-assure him by saying that there were evils in life more worthy of commiseration than death itself, that the life of all men was chequered with calamity, and there were none who had not sometimes wished to die.
- 47 **Confers with Artabanus upon expected dangers: dismisses him to Susa.**—Xerxes then asked Artabanus if he would have persisted in his first opinion of the expedition, if he had not seen the vision ; to which Artabanus
48 replied, that he was still alarmed by two formidable things,
49 the land and the sea. For, 1. No harbour was sufficiently large to receive the Persian fleet, in case of a storm. 2. If no adversary opposed the army, the land itself would be hostile, for the king would be tempted to advance till
50 his delay produced a famine. Xerxes then censured Artabanus for only contemplating the worst side, as nothing great could be done without hazard, and if former kings had entertained his opinions, Persia would never have reached its present elevation. He added, that they had set out at the best season, with plenty of provisions, and to make war on husbandmen and not on warlike nomads.
- 51 Artabanus then reminded Xerxes that Cyrus had subdued all Ionia except Athens, and therefore advised him not to lead the Ionians against the Athenians, as these would be acting unjustly in enslaving their mother city,
52 or justly in maintaining its freedom. Xerxes answered that the Ionians had proved their fidelity by preserving the Ister bridge, and, moreover, had left their wives and children in Persia, so that there was nothing to fear. He then despatched Artabanus to Susa, to be viceroy in his absence.
- 53 **The army crosses the Hellespont.**—Xerxes then convoked the Persian nobles, and prayed them not to sully
54 their ancestry, but to strain every nerve in the war. On the same day preparations were made for crossing the

Hellespont. On the next they burnt perfumes on the bridges, and strewed the road with myrtle-flowers till sunrise. Xerxes then offered up prayers to the rising sun, and poured a libation and a golden vase, bowl, and Persian sword into the Hellespont. The infantry and 55 cavalry, led by the Ten Thousand Immortals, then crossed over by the bridge nearest the Euxine, and the beasts of burden and attendants by the one nearest the *Ægean*, and at the same time the ships got under weigh. Xerxes is said to have passed last. Driven by the lash, the army 56 was seven days and seven nights in crossing. When Xerxes reached Europe, an Hellespontine said to him, "Why, O Zeus, in the form of a Persian, and with the name of Xerxes, do you bring all mankind to conquer Greece, since you alone could have done it."

Two prodigies.—After the crossing two prodigies appeared: 1. A mare foaled a hare; and 2. A mule produced an hermaphrodite colt. Not heeding these omens, the former of which Herodotus thought to mean that the Persian army had set out like a horse, but would fly back like a hare, Xerxes proceeded on his march.

Land-force reach Doriscus.—The fleet sailed west- 58 ward, with orders to join the land-force at Sarpedon; but the land-forces marched eastward through the Chersonesus, going through Agora with the sepulchre of Helle on their right and Cardia on their left; then bending round the bay Melas, and crossing the river Melas, whose stream failed them, and marching westward by *Ænos* and the lake Stentoris, till they reached Doriscus.

Numbering of the army.—Doriscus is an extensive shore and plain of Thrace, through 59 which flows the Hebrus. Here was a fort called Doriscus, where Darius, on his Scythian expedition, had left a garrison. Along this coast stood Sala, a Samothracian city, and Zona, which is terminated by Cape Serrhium, a region belonging anciently to the Cicones. Here the ships were hauled up and refitted, whilst Xerxes numbered his army at Doriscus.

Land-force computed.—The exact number of each 60 division is not mentioned, but the entire host amounted to 1,700,000, and were computed by crowding together

10,000 men, and building a stone fence round them, and into this enclosure the whole army was introduced in succession, and the number roughly ascertained. The forces were then drawn up according to nations.

Land-force of Xerxes, divided according to nations, including their equipments, national origin, and commanders; 1,700,000 in all.

I. INFANTRY.

- 61 **Persians, led by Otanes.**—Turbans on their heads, iron plated tunics on their bodies; loose trowsers; osier bucklers with quivers underneath; short spears; long bows and cane arrows; and daggers on the right thigh.—Formerly called Cephenees by the Greeks, but Artæans by themselves and neighbours: were called Persians after Perses, son of Perseus and Andromeda (daughter of Cepheus, son of Belus).
- 62 **Medes, led by Tigranes.**—Accounted like the Persians, who borrowed their armour from them.—Formerly called Arians, but afterwards Medes, when Medea of Colchis came to them from Athens.
Cissians, led by Anaphes.—Like the Persians, but with mitres instead of tiaræ.
Hyrcanians, led by Megapanus.—Like the Persians.
- 63 **Assyrians and Chaldeans, led by Otaspes.**—Brazen helmets, barbarously twisted; shields, spears, and daggers like the Egyptians; wooden clubs knotted with iron; and linen cuirasses.—Called Syrians by the Greeks, but Assyrians by the Barbarians.
- 64 **Bactrians and Sacæ, led by Hystaspes.**—The Bactrians wore tiaræ like the Persians, with bamboo bows, and short javelins. The Sacæ had helmets terminating in a point; loose trousers; bows peculiar to their country; daggers; and battle-axes, called sagares.—The Sacæ are really Amyrgian Scythians, but the Persians call all the Scythians Sacæ.
- 65 **Indians, led by Pharnazathres.**—Cotton garments; cane bows; and cane arrows, tipped with iron.
- 66 **Arians, led by Sisamnes.**—Like the Bactrians, but with Medic bows.
Parthians and Chorasmians, led by Artabarus.—Like the Bactrians.
Sogdians, led by Azanes.—Like the Bactrians.
Gandarians and Dadicæ, led by Artyphius.—Like the Bactrians.
- 67 **Caspians, led by Ariomardus.**—Goat-skin mantles; peculiar cane bows; and scimitars.
Sarangæ, led by Pharendates.—Dyed garments; buskins reaching to the knee; bows; and Medic javelins.
Pactyes, led by Artyntes.—Goat-skin mantles; peculiar bows; and daggers.
- 68 **Utians and Mycians, led by Arsamenes.**—Like the Pactyes.
Paricanians, led by Siromitres.—Like the Pactyes.

Arabians and Ethiopians above Egypt, led by Arsames.—The 69
Arabians wore cloaks fastened by a girdle, with long bows bending
backwards on their right sides. The Ethiopians were clothed in pan-
ther and lion skins; bows four cubits long, made of the palm tree;
short cane arrows tipped with a stone; javelins tipped with an ante-
lope's horn and made sharp like a lance; and knotted clubs. When
going to battle they smeared one half of their bodies with chalk, and
the other with red ochre.

Eastern Ethiopians and Libyans, led by Massages.—The former 70
have straight hair, the latter curly. The Ethiopians were accoutred
like the Indians, but wore on their heads the skins of horses' heads,
with the ears and mane; with crane-skins instead of bucklers. The 71
Libyans had leathern garments, with javelins hardened by fire.

Paphlagonians and Matienians, led by Dotus.—Both alike had 72
plaited helmets; small shields and spears; javelins and daggers; and
peculiar boots reaching to the middle of the leg.

Maryandinians, Ligyes, and Syrians, [Cappadocians,] led by 73
Gobryas.—Like the Paphlagonians.

Phrygians and Armenians, led by Artochmes.—Like the Paphla- 73
gonians. The Phrygians were called Briges, whilst they were
Europeans and dwelt with the Macedonians; but on passing into
Asia were called Phrygians. The Armenians were a Phrygian
colony.

Lydians and Mysians, led by Artaphernes.—The Lydians had 74
arms like the Greeks. The Mysians wore peculiar helmets; small
shields; and javelins hardened by fire. The Lydians formerly
Mæonians: called Lydians from Lydus son of Atys (i. 7). The
Mysians were a Lydian colony, called Olympians from Mount
Olympus.

Thracians or Bithynians, led by Bassaces.—Fox-skins on their 75
heads; tunics on their bodies, with various coloured robes; buskins
of fawn-skin; javelins; light bucklers; and small daggers. Formerly
called Strymonians from dwelling on the Strymon, but being re-
moved by the Teucrians and Mysians, they crossed into Asia and
were called Bithynians.

Nation unknown, who possessed an oracle of Ares.—Small buck- 76
lers of untanned ox-hides; two javelins; a brazen helmet and ox's
ears and horns; crests; and purple cloth on their legs.

Cabalian Mæonians, (formerly Læonians,) and Milyans, led by 77
Badres.—The Cabalians like the Cilicians (c. 61). The Milyans
had short lances; garments fastened by clasps; Lycian bows; and
helmets of tanned skins.

Moschians and Tibarenians, led by Ariomardus.—Both had 78
wooden helmets; small bucklers; and small spears with large
points.

Macrones and Mosynœci, led by Artayetes.—Like the Moschians.

Mares and Colchians, led by Pharandates.—The Mares had plaited 79
helmets; small leathern shields; and javelins. The Colchians had
wooden helmets; small bucklers of raw hide; short spears; and
swords.

Alarodi and Saspire, led by Masistius.—Both like the Colchians. 80

Islanders from the Erythraean, led by Mardontes.—Like the Medes. To their islands the king sends exiles.

- 81 **Conduct of the infantry.**—The above nations composed the infantry. The duties of the leaders mentioned were to draw up the troops in a line; ascertain their number; and appoint captains over 1000 and 10,000; the captains of 10,000 appointing the captains of 100
- 82 and of 10. The commanders-in-chief were Mardonius, Tritantæchmes, Smerdomenes, Masistes, Gergis, and
- 83 Megabyzus; but Hydarnes alone commanded the 10,000 Persians, called the Immortals. The Persians had the finest equipments, and were the best troops. They had many attendants, and close carriages containing their concubines; and their provisions were carried separately from the other soldiers.

II. CAVALRY.

- 84 **Persians.**—Equipped like the infantry, but with ornaments of brass and iron on their heads.
- 85 **Sagartians**, (Persian nomads,)—a costume between the Persian and Pactyan fashion; no arms except daggers; but catch their enemies with nooses of twisted cords; they furnish 8000 cavalry.
- 86 **Medes and Cissians.**—Like their infantry.
- Indians.**—Like their infantry, but with chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.
- Bactrians and Caspians.**—Like their infantry.
- Libyans.**—Like their infantry, but driving chariots.
- Caspiri and Paricanti.**—Like their infantry.
- Arabians.**—Like their infantry, but riding camels.

- 87 **Conduct of the cavalry.**—The whole cavalry force was 80,000, besides camels and chariots. The Arabians were stationed in the rear, as the horses could not endure the
- 88 smell of the camels. The commanders-in-chief of the cavalry, were Armamithres and Tithæus, sons of Datis; their third colleague, Pharnuches, had been left ill at Sardis; for having fallen from his horse he vomited blood, which turned to a consumption. His servants cut off the horse's legs.

III. NAVY.

With Equipments, etc.; 1207 triremes.

- 89 **Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine**--300 ships.—Helmets similar to the Greeks; linen breastplates; shields without rims;

and javelins.—The Phœnicians anciently came from the Erythræan Sea and settled in Syria.

Egyptians—200 ships. Plaited helmets; hollow shields with large rims; hand-spikes; hatchets, breastplates, and large cutlasses.

Cyprians—150 ships. Turbans on kings, and tunics on the others; in other respects a Greek costume.—These are sprung from Salamis, Athens, Arcadia, and Ethiopia.

Cilicians—100 ships. National helmets; bucklers of raw hides; 91 woollen tunics; two javelins; and a sword like the Egyptian scimitar. Anciently called Hyparchæi; but now named after Cilix, son of Agenor, a Phœnician.

Pamphylians—30 ships. Greek armour. Descended from those who in returning from Troy were dispersed with Amphilochus and Calchas.

Lycians—50 ships. Breastplates and greaves; bows of cornel- 92 wood; cane arrows without feathers; javelins; daggers; falchions; goat-skins over their shoulders; and caps with feathers.—Sprung from Crete, and once called Termilæ: since named after Pandion, an Athenian.

Dorians of Asia—30 ships. Greek armour.—Sprung from the 93 Peloponnesus (i. 173).

Carians—70 ships. Greek equipment, but with falchions and daggers (i. 171).

Ionians—100 ships. Greek equipment.—Called Pelasgian Ægialæ- 94 ans whilst inhabiting Achaia: called Ionians from Ion, son of Xuthus.

Ionian Islanders—17 ships. Greek equipment. 95

Æolians—80 ships. Greek equipment. Anciently called Pelasgi.

Hellepontines (except those of Abydos, who stopped to guard the bridges)—100 ships. Greek equipment. Dorian colonists.

The trieconters, penteconters, light boats, and long horse transports, were 3000 in all.

Conduct of the fleet.—The Persians, Medes, and Sacæ 96 served in all the vessels. The Phœnicians furnished the best ships in the fleet, and the Sidonians the best amongst the Phœnicians. The naval commanders were, Aria- 97 bignes, commander of the Ionian and Carian squadron; Achæmenes, of the Egyptian; and Prexaspes and Megabyzus, of the rest. Of other commanders Herodotus 98 mentions Artemisia, a woman who headed the Halicar- 99 nassians, Coans, Nisyrians, and Calydnians, as regent for her son, her husband being dead. She furnished five sail, and displayed the best ships next to the Sidonians, and gave the king the best counsel. Each nation both in the army and navy had its own native commanders, who were however merely considered as slaves, and therefore Herodotus neither learnt nor recorded their names.

- 100 **Xerxes reviews his army and navy.**—Xerxes reviewed his land-force by passing through the ranks in a chariot, and his naval force by having all the ships drawn up and anchored in a line about four plethra [400 feet] from the shore, and then sailing in front of their prows in a Sidonian vessel, asking questions and having the answers in both cases written down by his secretaries.
- 101 **Questions Demaratus.**—Having finished, Xerxes then sent for Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, (vi. 70,) and asked whether he thought the Greeks would oppose
- 102 him. Demaratus replied, that the Lacedæmonians in particular would never hear of Greece being enslaved, but would oppose Xerxes, even if all the other Greeks sided with him, and they could only raise 1000 men. Xerxes
- 103 laughed, and asked how they could march of their own free will against an army a thousand times as great as
- 104 their own. Demaratus replied, that the Lacedæmonian laws obliged them to conquer or die, whatever might be
- 105 the multitude against them. Xerxes laughed again, but dismissed Demaratus kindly.
- 106 **Appoints Mascames governor of Doriscus.**—Xerxes appointed Mascames governor of Doriscus, who was subsequently the only governor in Thrace and the Hellespont who was not driven out by the Greeks. Both he and his descendants subsequently received yearly gifts
- 107 from Xerxes and Artaxerxes. Xerxes had a mean opinion of all the ejected governors except Bogenes, who refused to capitulate to the Athenians under Cimon, but scattered his wealth into the Strymon, and slew his wife, concubines, and family on a funeral pile, and then perished in the flames.
- 108 **Advances through Thrace.**—Xerxes advanced from Doriscus, and as all the people as far as Thessaly had been enslaved by Megabazus and Mardonius, he now pressed them into his army. He first passed the Samothracian forts, the most western of which is Mesambria, separated from Stryme by the river Lissus, which also proved insufficient for the army. This district was anciently called Gallaica, but now Briantica; it properly belongs to the Ciconians.

Route to
Therma.

Crossing the dried channel of the Lissus, Xerxes passed 109
Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera, and skirted the lakes Is-
maris and Bistonis; he then crossed the river Nestus,
and a salt lake near Pistyrus, 30 stadia [$3\frac{1}{4}$ miles] round,
which the beasts of burden drank till it was exhausted,
though brackish.

Thracian tribes.—Xerxes marched through the follow- 110
ing Thracian nations, viz. the Pætians, Ciconians, Bis-
tones, Sapæans, Dersæans, Edonians, and Satrians. All 111
these were pressed into the service of the fleet except the
Satrians, who inhabit lofty mountains, and have always
been free. These Satrians possess an oracle of Dionysus
on the loftiest of their summits, and the oracles are de-
livered by a priestess, and are as ambiguous as those of
Delphi, and are interpreted by the Bessians.

Reaches Acanthus.—After this Xerxes passed the 112
Pierian forts, Phagres and Pergamus, keeping Mount
Pangæus, with its gold and silver mines, on the right.
He then passed the Pæonians, Doberes, and Pæoplæ, and 113
went westward till he reached Eion on the Strymon,
then governed by Boges; here the Magi sacrificed white
horses to the river. Xerxes then reached the Nine 114
Ways of the Edonians, where the Strymon was united
by a bridge, (c. 24,) and buried alive nine sons and nine
daughters of the Edonians. [This was a Persian custom,
for Amestris, wife of Xerxes, when old, buried alive 14
children of the best Persian families to show her grati-
tude to the god under the earth.] The army then left 115
Strymon, passed Argilus and Stagirus, and arrived at
Acanthus; the road is still venerated by the Thracians.
Throughout this progress, the maritime tribes joined his
navy, and those in the interior followed the army.

Hospitalities to his army.—Here Xerxes gave the 116
Acanthians a Medic dress, and enjoined them to show
hospitality. Artachæes, the superintendent of the canal 117
at Mount Athos, died here, and was honourably buried
by the Persians. He belonged to the Achæmenidæ, had
the loudest voice, and was the tallest Persian, being only
four digits less than five royal cubits high [eight feet six
inches]. The Acanthians sacrifice to him. Those Greeks
who were compelled to entertain the army, were reduced

- 118 to extreme poverty. Antipater had been selected by the
 Thasians to give Xerxes a banquet, which cost 400 silver
 119 talents [£96,000]. Equal expenses were incurred in
 other cities, for a long notice was given, and the prepara-
 tions were magnificent (c. 32). When the heralds in-
 formed a city what was expected, the people divided
 their corn, and employed many months in reducing it to
 meal and flour. They fattened cattle; preserved land and
 water-fowl; and made gold and silver vessels for the
 king's table. Xerxes lodged in a tent, but the rest of
 the army in the open air. The entertainers had all the
 trouble at the feasts, and next morning the guests carried
 120 off the tent and furniture. On this occasion one Mega-
 creon wittily advised the Abderites to thank the gods
 that Xerxes only made one meal a day.
- 121 **Three divisions of land-force.**—The land-force of
 Xerxes had marched from Doriscus to Acanthus in three
 divisions: the 1st, under Mardonius and Masistes, accom-
 panied the fleet along the coast; the 2nd, under Tritan-
 tæchmes and Gergis, marched inland; the 3rd, under
 Smerdomenes and Megabyzus, marched between the two,
 and Xerxes went with it.
- 122 **Progress of the army and navy to Therma.**—The king
 dismissed the fleet at Acanthus, with orders to await him
 at Therma. It then sailed through the canal at Athos,
 levying troops from Assa, Pílorus, Singus, and Sarta;
 123 doubled Cape Ampelus, taking both ships and men from
 Torone, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mécyberna, and Olynthus,
 whose country is now called Sithonia; stretched to Cape
 Canastræum, taking men and ships from Potidæa, Aphy-
 tis, Neapolis, Æga, Therambo, Scione, Menda, and
 Sana, whose territory was once called Phlegra, but now
 Pallene; and coasted to the Thermaic Gulf, levying
 troops from the bordering cities of Lipaxus, Combreaia,
 Lisæ, Gígonus, Campsa, Smila, and Æneia, whose territory
 is now called Crossæa; and at length reached Ther-
 124 ma, and awaited the land-force at the Áxius, which di-
 vides Mygdonia from Bottiæis, where stand the cities of
 Ichnæ and Pella. Meanwhile Xerxes and his land-army
 125 proceeded inland from Acanthus to Therma, passing
 through Pæonia and Crestonia towards the Echidorus,

which rises in Crestonia, runs through Mygdonia, and falls into the Axios. In this route his camels were attacked by lions, which are numerous there, but never seen in Europe eastward of the Nestus or westward of the Achelous. This region also abounds in wild bulls with immense horns. At Therma the army encamped, occupying all the maritime district from Therma and Mygdonia to the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which uniting into one channel, divide Bottæis from Macedonia. The Echidorus was the only river which failed the army,

Visits the outlets of the Peneus.—Xerxes, whilst at Therma, visited, in a Sidonian vessel, the outlets of the Peneus, which runs through a narrow pass between Olympus and Ossa. It is said that Thessaly was anciently a lake, since it is enclosed on all sides by mountains—east by Pelion and Ossa, north by Olympus, west by Pindus, and south by Othrys. It is watered by many rivers, of which these five are the most noted, viz. the Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, and Pamisus, all of which flow from the mountains into Thessaly, and run out in the single channel of the Peneus, which anciently did not exist. The Thessalians say that Poseidon made this outlet, and whoever thinks that Poseidon occasions the earthquakes will believe this statement, as the fissure is evidently the work of an earthquake. Xerxes, having learnt from the guides that the Peneus had no other outlet, commended the prudence of the Aleuadæ (c. 6) in submitting, as by stopping up the outlet all Thessaly might be flooded. (*Continued at c. 179.*)

III. *Contemporaneous affairs in Greece, chap. 131—178.*

All the Bœotians except the Thespians and Plataeans send earth and water.—Xerxes remained several days about Pieria, whilst one of the divisions of his army felled the trees to clear a road over the Macedonian range into Thessaly. Meantime the heralds returned from Greece with earth and water from the Thessalians, Dolopes, Enians, Perrhæbians, Locrians, Magnetes, Malians, Achæans of Phthiotis, Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians except the Thespians and Plataeans. The other Greeks swore that when affairs were

- settled, those who had surrendered without compulsion
 133 should give a tithe of their property at Delphi. No
 heralds had been sent either to Athens or Sparta, for those
 previously sent by Darius had been thrown into a well
 (c. 32).

- Lacedæmonians seek to atone for the murder of the Persian heralds.**—Whether the Athenians suffer from this deed Herodotus cannot say; it is true, they had their city and country ravaged, but Herodotus does not think
 134 that this was in consequence of their crime. The wrath of
 Talthybius, the herald of Agamemnon, fell however on
 the Lacedæmonians, for their sacrificial victims proved
 unfavourable (vi. 48). Talthybius had a shrine at Sparta,
 and his descendants the Talthybiadæ still discharge the
 office of heralds. The Lacedæmonians now publicly
 asked if any were willing to die for Sparta, and at length
 Sperthias and Bulis offered themselves up to death as
 135 satisfaction for the murder of the Persian heralds. On
 their road to Susa they came to Hydarnes, who feasted
 them, and advised them to submit to Xerxes, but they
 136 refused. On reaching Susa and entering the royal pre-
 sence, they would not prostrate themselves, but Xerxes
 declined to slay them in revenge for the heralds, or re-
 137 lieve the Lacedæmonians from their guilt. Sperthias and
 Bulis therefore returned to Sparta, and the wrath of Tal-
 thybius ceased, but a divine interference seems to He-
 rodotus to have subsequently permitted justice to fall on
 the sons of Sperthias and Bulis—Aneristus and Nicolaus;
 who being sent by the Lacedæmonians as ambassadors to
 Asia, were betrayed by Sitalces and Nymphodorus to the
 Athenians, and put to death, together with Aristæas son of
 Adimantus.

- 138 **Fear of the Greeks.**—The Greeks knew that the Per-
 sians were advancing against all Greece, and only nomin-
 ally against Athens; they were therefore much inclined
 to the Medes, and those who had refused earth and water
 were in great consternation.

- 139 **Courage of the Athenians.**—Herodotus
 Athens.
 considers that the Athenians saved Greece,
 for if they had not opposed Xerxes by sea, the whole
 country must have been subdued; for though walls might

have been built by the Peloponnesians across the Isthmus, yet the Lacedæmonians must have submitted when the confederates had fallen, and even walls would have been useless whilst Xerxes was master of the sea. The Athenians alone roused the Greeks to resist the Persians; next to the gods they repelled the invaders; and no alarming oracles from Delphi could induce them to desert their country.

Send to Delphi.—On the Athenians sending deputies 140 to Delphi, the Pythia thus replied :

“Infatuated men! why sit ye here?
Fly to the ends of earth, and leave your homes,
And the tall summits of your wheel-shaped city!
Neither the head stands firm, nor yet the body;
Neither the feet, nor hands, nor yet the middle:—
All, all are fallen to ruin. Fire and swift Ares
Driving a Syrian chariot destroys it.
And many other towers shall he destroy,
And many temples of the Immortals fire.
Even now they stand, sweating and terror-shaken;
Direful black blood is trickling from their roofs:
Then quit my fane, and meet your ills with courage!”

On going a second time, according to the advice of Ti- 141 mon, with an olive branch to consult the oracle as suppliants, she thus replied :

“Pallas, alas! can not propitiate Zeus,
Though she has offered prayers and prudent counsel.
To you then I repeat the same response,
Inflexible as adamant. When all
Is captured from the limits of old Cecrops,
From the recesses of tall Cithæron,—
Far-seeing Zeus to her, the Triton born,
Will give a wooden wall impregnable,
Which shall preserve both you and all your children.
Then wait not the approach of horse and foot,
And hosts advancing from the continent,
But turn and leave your land! The day will come:
When ye shall face the foe! O Salamis!
The sons of women thou shalt cause to perish,
Whether the harvest be abroad or housed.”

This oracle being reported at Athens, was variously in- 142 terpreted. Some of the old men thought the wooden wall to mean the Acropolis, which was anciently defended by a fence; others conjectured it to mean the ships, but

- were then perplexed by the reference to the slaughter at
 143 Salamis; till THEMISTOCLES explained it as referring to the ships, and the slaughter to that of the Persians, and advised them to prepare for engaging the enemy at sea.
- 144 **Follow Themistocles and prepare a fleet.**—This counsel was adopted by the Athenians, in preference to the plan of those who counselled a migration to another territory. They had previously followed Themistocles in building 200 war ships with the money arising from the mines of Laureum, instead of sharing the money, 10 drachmæ [about 8s.] per man. [Boeckh calculates that at this time an Athenian might live on 100 drachmæ a year.] These ships were intended for the war with the Æginetans, and this war, by compelling the Athenians to pay attention to the sea, was now the preservation of Greece. Other ships had however to be built and added to these 200; and the council resolved, that all the Athenian people, with such Greeks as joined them, should meet the Barbarian in ships.
- 145 **Greeks organize a confederacy.**—The well-affected Greeks now met, consulted, and gave mutual pledges. They then reconciled all their quarrels; sent spies into Asia; despatched ambassadors to Argos to form a league; with others to Sicily, Corecya, and Crete, to demand assistance, and consolidate the opposition.
- 146 **Spies sent to Sardis.**—The three spies sent to Asia were discovered at Sardis and about
 147 them their lives, and after showing them his army, dismissed them to report the extent of his force to the Greeks, who might thereupon submit and save him the march. Xerxes afterwards at Abydos suffered some vessels laden with corn from the Euxine, and bound for Peloponnesus and Ægina, to pass unmolested, considering that they were carrying the corn as much for the Persians as for the Greeks.
- 148 **Argives refuse assistance: Argive account.**—Meanwhile the ambassadors from
 Peloponnesus. Argos. the Greek confederacy reached Argos, but were refused assistance. The Argives themselves say, that as 6000 of their number had been slain by Cleomenes,

(vi. 78—83,) they had inquired at Delphi at an early period of the war how they were to proceed, and had been then warned by the Pythia against leaguings with the Greeks in the following terms :

“ Hated by neighbours, but by gods beloved,
Hold in your lance at rest ! keep on the watch
And guard your head ! the head shall save the body.”

Notwithstanding however this oracle, they had offered to join if they could conclude a 30 years' truce with the Lacedæmonians, and have half the command of the allied forces : they desired the 30 years' truce, lest if depopulated by the Persians they should be attacked by the Lacedæmonians before their sons had grown. To this the ambassadors from Sparta who were included in the embassy replied, that they must refer the truce to their people ; and as there were two kings of Sparta, neither of whom could be set aside, they could only offer them one third of the command. The Argives then say, that choosing to be subject to the Persians in preference to the Lacedæmonians, they warned the ambassadors to quit the country before sunset.

Other accounts.—Other Greeks say that Xerxes had previously sent a herald to Argos, who prevailed on the Argives to remain neuter, by representing that the Persians, having sprung from Perseus son of Perseus, were descended from them. The Argives therefore made the demand, knowing that it would not be granted. This is also said to be thus corroborated, viz. that subsequently, whilst some Athenian ambassadors were at Susa, others came from Argos, to inquire if Artaxerxes would continue the alliance they had held with his father ; to which the king replied that he would. But Herodotus does not much credit this report, nor does he think that the Argives were much worse than their neighbours ; he is however bound to relate what is said, though not to believe every thing, and he hopes that this remark may be applied to all his history.

Ambassadors sent to Sicily.—Other ambassadors were sent by the confederacy to Sicily to confer with Gelon, tyrant of Gela and Syracuse.

Island of
Sicily.

153

Account of Gelon.—The progenitor of Gelon was a native of the island Telus, off Triopium. His descendants became priests of the infernal goddesses, [Demeter and Persephone,] through one of them, Telines, having brought back some of the inhabitants of Gela, who had fled in a sedition, by the sole assistance of the sacred symbols of the goddesses.

- 154 Gelon, a descendant of Telines, was one of the bodyguards of Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, who had assumed the power at the death of his brother Cleander. Gelon, for his conduct in the sieges of the Callipolitans, Naxians, Zancleans, Leontinians, Syracusans, and others, was made commander-in-chief of the cavalry, all the above nations being subdued by Hippocrates, except the Syracusans, who were saved by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, and had only to surrender Camarina. Hippocrates fell before Hybla in a war with the Sicilians, having reigned, like his brother and predecessor Cleander, for seven years. The citizens revolting against his two sons, Gelon defended the latter, put down the rebellion, and then possessed himself of the sovereignty. Gelon then restored the Gamori, [original landholders,] who had been exiled by the commons and their own slaves, back to Syracuse, upon which the commons surrendered, and he thus obtained the latter city. He now left the government of Gela to his brother Hiero, and enlarged Syracuse by bringing there all the people of Camarina, and half the citizens of Gela, and all the rich men of Megara in Sicily. The commons of Megara and Euboea in Sicily he sold for slaves.
- 157 Gelon offers conditional aid, which is refused.—The Greek ambassadors arrived at Syracuse, and in a short speech requested the assistance of Gelon, who
- 158 severely replied, that he had asked their assistance when he was at war with the Carthaginians to avenge the death of Dorieus upon the Egæans, (v. 45, 46,) but they had declined. However, he now offered them 200 triremes, 20,000 heavy-armed troops, 2000 horse, 2000 archers, 2000 slingers, 2000 light horse, and to supply the whole Greek army with corn, upon condition that he
- 159 was made commander-in-chief of all the forces. These

terms were indignantly rejected by Syagrus the Lacedæmonian ambassador, who said that the shade of Agamemnon would groan at such a disgrace, and that if Gelon would not be commanded by Spartans, he need not assist them. Gelon said that as he brought a greater army he ought to share in the command, and therefore begged for the generalship of the fleet. The Athenian ambassador replied, that they were sent not for a general, but for an army, and as the Athenians had the largest navy, they would not cede the command to any save the Lacedæmonians; and that certainly they, the most ancient people in Greece, who had never migrated from their territory, and from whom Homer had said went the best man* to Troy for arranging and marshalling an army, never would resign that command to the Syracusans. Gelon then coolly replied, that the Greeks had commanders, but were not likely to have soldiers, and desired the ambassadors to return and say that Greece had lost her spring, alluding to the best season of the year, as his was the best army.

Gelon sends Cadmus to watch the issue.—The ambassadors returned, but Gelon, fearing that the Greeks would be conquered, and yet spurning to be commanded by Lacedæmonians, sent Cadmus with three penteconters of treasures and with professions of friendship to Delphi; there to watch the battle, and if the Persians conquered, to give them the treasure with earth and water, but if the Greeks conquered, to bring it back. This Cadmus had received from his father the tyranny of Cos, and of his own accord abdicated it to the citizens, and retired to live with the Samians in Zancle. Gelon now chose him for his uprightness. After the Greeks had conquered, he brought back the treasure.

Sicilian account.—These say that Gelon would have helped the Greeks, had not an army of 300,000 under Amilcar, king of the Carthaginians, invaded Sicily to assist Terillus, who had been expelled from the rule of Himera by Theron. Amilcar had been induced to interfere by his friendship for Terillus, and by the zeal of

* Menestheus. Il. ii. 552.

- Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium, who had married the daughter of Terillus, and now gave up his own children to Amilcar to incite him to invade Sicily, and avenge his father-in-law. Amilcar was now conquered by Gelon and Theron on the same day as the battle of Salamis. Amilcar, who had been chosen king for his virtue, disappeared after his defeat. The Carthaginians say that he burnt himself in a sacrificial pile on the battle-field, and they offer sacrifices and have built monuments to him.
- 167 **Corcyræans promise, but withhold assistance.**—The Corcyræans promised to assist the Greeks, but only sent, after much delay, 60 ships to Pylos and Tænarus to watch the result of the war. If the Persians conquered, they desired to win favour for not having joined the Athenians : if the Greeks conquered, they meant to say that they had manned 60 ships, but the Etesian winds had prevented their doubling Malea : this last excuse they made.
- 168 **Cretans refuse aid because not assisted in avenging Minos.**—The Cretans, when invited to join the league, consulted the Delphic oracle, and then refused assistance. The Pythia had reminded them of their sufferings in aiding Menelaus when avenging the rape of Helen, whilst the Greeks had refused to assist them in revenging the death of Minos.
- 169 **Story of Minos.**—For Minos having pursued Dædalus into Sicania, now called Sicily, was there slain ; and subsequently all the Cretans, except the Polichnitæ and Præsiens, proceeded to Sicania, and for five years besieged Camicus, but were then forced by famine to raise the siege and depart. Being driven by a storm on Iapygia, they founded Hyria, and changed their names to Messapian Iapyges, and being afterwards attacked by the Tarentines and Rhegians, they defeated them, slaying 3000 of the Rhegians alone. Meanwhile other Greeks settled at Crete, and assisted in avenging Menelaus, the 3rd generation after, but on returning from Troy, they and the cattle were punished by famine and pestilence. The present Cretans are thus the 3rd people who have occupied the island.

Thessalians offer to guard Olympus: 10,000 Greeks join them, but return.—The Thessalians were at first forced to side with the Medes, but showed their disapproval of the intrigues of the Aleuadæ, (c. 6, 130,) by sending to the Isthmus, where the deputies of the new Greek confederacy were assembled, and offering to guard the pass of Olympus if the Greeks would assist them with an army. The Greeks then sent 10,000 heavy-armed men under Evænetes and Themistocles by sea, who sailed through Euripus, disembarked at Alus of Achaia, and marched to the pass at Tempe, where they encamped, with the Thessalian cavalry. In a few days Alexander, king of Macedon, sent to warn them to retire, as the invaders could trample them under foot; upon which the Greeks hastily returned to the Isthmus, being however, Herodotus thinks, more terrified at hearing that there was another pass into Thessaly and Upper Macedonia across the Perrhæbi near Gonnus; by which Xerxes afterwards entered Thessaly. This expedition took place whilst Xerxes was at Abydos. The Thessalians, thus left by their allies, joined the Medes, and proved most useful to Xerxes.

NORTHERN
GREECE.
—
Thessaly.

172

173

174

Greeks guard Thermopylæ, and station the fleet at Artemisium.—In consequence of Alexander's warning, the Greeks held a council at the Isthmus, where they determined to guard the pass of Thermopylæ, which was nearer and narrower than that into Thessaly, and to station the fleet at Artemisium. It was only subsequently that they were informed of the path [Anopæa] by which they were afterwards surprised (c. 213—222).

Artemisium.—Artemisium is a beach extending along the coast of Eubœa, on which stands a temple to Artemis. It is washed by the narrow strait, formed by the Thracian sea contracting itself between the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia.

Northern
coast of
Eubœa.

176

Pass of Thermopylæ.—The entrance into Greece through Trachis is only $\frac{1}{2}$ a plethrum [50 feet] wide at the narrowest part, but the narrowest part of the country is just above

Defile
between
Mount Ceta
and the sea.

and below Thermopylæ; for northward by the river Phoenix, near Anthela, the road will only admit of one chariot, and southward, near Alpenus, the road is the same. On the western side of Thermopylæ is an inaccessible mountain stretching to the Cæta range; on the eastern side is the sea and a morass. In the pass are hot springs, called Chytri, and above them an altar to Heracles. The defile had been flooded by these springs, and a wall built across it by the Phocians to guard against the Thessalians, who had migrated from Thesprotia, and settled in the Æolian territory [Thessaly] which they now possess. This wall it was now determined to rebuild. The Greeks expected to obtain their provisions from Alpenus. Here then, where the invaders could neither avail themselves of their superior numbers nor cavalry, it was resolved to receive them.

- 177 **Greeks proceed to Thermopylæ and Artemisium.**—
When the Greeks heard that the Persians had advanced to Pieria (c. 131) they broke up their council at the Isthmus, and marched their land-forces to Thermopylæ,
178 whilst their fleet sailed to Artemisium. At the same time the Delphians consulted their oracle, and were told that the winds would be the best allies of Greece, which gave additional encouragement to these Greeks zealous for freedom; and accordingly the Delphians built an altar to the winds at Thyia, and offered sacrifices.

IV. *War between the Greeks and Persians till the battle of Thermopylæ, chap. 179—239.*

- 179 **Persians chase the Greek ships.**—Ten
Isle of Persian ships were now sent from the fleet
Sciathus in at Therma to Sciathus, and chased three
the Ægean. 180 Greeks vessels who were there on the look-out. Of these,
the 1st, a Træzenian, was soon captured, and her hand-
181 somest warrior, Leon, was slain at her prow. The 2nd,
an Æginetan, was taken after a desperate defence from
Pytheas, who was almost cut to pieces. Pytheas was
healed by the Persians for his valour, but the remaining
182 crew were sold as slaves. The 3rd, an Athenian, ran
ashore at the mouth of the Peneus, and the crew escaped
overland to Athens.

Greek fleet retires from Artemisium.—The Greeks at Artemisium being informed of this by signal-fires from Sciathus, left scouts on the heights of Eubœa and retired to Chalcis to defend the Euripus. The crews of three of the 10 ships having set a column on the sunken rock called the Ant, between Sciathus and Magnesia, the Persian fleet left Therma and sailed to Sepias in Magnesia, the column being pointed out to them by Pammon of Scyros.

Chalcis on the
Straits of
Euripus.

Xerxes' combined forces.—To this spot the forces of Xerxes had suffered no loss, and their total numbers were as follows :

Sepias in
Magnesia.

SEA.

1207 ships : crews, 200 men per vessel	241,400
—fighting men, 30 per vessel	36,210
3000 penteconters : crews, 80 men per vessel	240,000
Total of the sea-forces	517,610

LAND.

Infantry	1,700,000
Cavalry	80,000
War chariots and camel drivers	20,000
Total of the land-forces	1,800,000
Sea-forces from Thrace and provinces adjoining	24,000
Land-forces pressed during the march in Europe	300,000
Total of all the troops	2,641,610
Servants	2,641,610
Grand total	5,283,220

Besides the above were women who made bread, concubines, eunuchs, draught-cattle, beasts of burden, Indian dogs, and other animals. It is not therefore surprising that the water of some rivers should have failed, but how the provisions were supplied is marvellous, for if one man consumed only one choenix [two pints] of corn daily, 110,340 medimni [nearly one million of gallons]

would be consumed by the men only in one day. Of all the myriads of men none equalled Xerxes for beauty and stature.

- 188 **Storm destroys 400 Persian war ships.**—The Persian fleet at length reached the beach of Magnesia between the town of Casthanæa and Cape Sepias. The beach being small they anchored in lines eight deep from the shore. The night was fair and calm, but at day-break the sea began to swell, and a heavy gale from the east, called an Hellespontine, burst upon them. Those near the shore were enabled to haul up their ships, but on the other vessels it dashed with irresistible fury. Some were driven upon the Ipni near Pelion, others on the beach, whilst many were dashed against Cape Sepias or wrecked at Melibœa and Casthanæa. The storm lasted three days and destroyed 400 ships of war, besides innumerable provision
- 189 ships, many lives, and much treasure. The Athenians were said to have sacrificed and invoked Boreas, in obedience to an oracle desiring them to call on their son-in-law for assistance; Boreas having married an Attic woman, Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus. Herodotus does not know if the storm was in consequence of their prayers, but on their return they erected a temple
- 190 to Boreas near Ilissus. Much of the treasure, and gold and silver cups, and articles lost from the wrecks, was picked up by Aminocles, a Magnesian, whose estate lay about Sepias.
- 191 **Greek fleet returns to Artemisium.**—On the fourth day the Magi, having charmed the winds by incantations, and offered sacrifices to Thetis and the Nereids, allayed the
- 192 storm, or perhaps it abated of its own accord. Meantime the Greeks at Chalcis, having learnt from their scouts at Eubœa its effects on the enemy, poured out libations to Poseidon the deliverer, and returned to their station at Artemisium.
- 193 **Persian fleet reach Aphetæ: 15 ships taken by the Greeks.**—After the storm, the Persian fleet doubled the southern headland of Magnesia, entered the Pagasæan gulf, and reached Aphetæ, where Heracles was left by Jason and his
- 194 companions; but 15 of their ships, which were commanded

Progress of the Persian fleet to Aphetæ, and land-force to Trachis.

by Sandoces, mistook the Greek ships at Artemisium for their own, and were taken by the Greeks, who first learnt from the crews what they wished respecting the forces of Xerxes, and then sent them in chains to the Corinthian Isthmus. This Sandoces had formerly been condemned by Darius to be crucified, for being bribed to give an unjust sentence, but was pardoned on the cross. In 195 one of the ships was Aridolis, tyrant of the Alabandians in Caria; and in another, Penthylus, who brought 12 ships from Paphos, but lost 11 in the storm off Sepias, and was taken in the only one which escaped. All the 196 Persian fleet, except the 15 vessels, arrived safely at Aphetæ.

Xerxes marches through Thessaly and Achaia to Malis.—Meanwhile Xerxes and his land-force marched through Thessaly and Achaia, or Phthiotis, and on the third day entered Malis. In Thessaly he proved that his own horses were superior to those of the Grecians. None of the rivers there but the Onochonus proved insufficient, but in Achaia even the Epidanus, which was the largest river, scarcely held out.

Story of the Laphystian Zeus at Alos.—At Alos in 197 Achaia the guides told Xerxes the tradition concerning the temple of Zeus Laphystius, viz. that Athamas, son of Æolus, conspired with Ino and planned the death of Phryxus, and the eldest of his race was, in consequence, ever after forbidden to enter the Prytaneum, on pain of being sacrificed. The descendants of Cytissorus, son of Phryxus, are similarly punished, because Cytissorus rescued Athamas the murderer of his father when about to be sacrificed by the Achæans. Xerxes, on hearing the story, would not enter the grove, nor the house of the descendants of Athamas.

Proceeds to Trachis.—Xerxes thus advanced to Ma- 198 lis, near the Malian Gulf, which ebbs and flows daily. About the gulf is a level country, narrow in one part and wide in another, surrounded by the Trachinian rocks. The first city from Achaia is Anticyra, on the river Sperchius, which flows from the Enianes into the sea. 20 stadia [$2\frac{1}{2}$ miles] farther is the river Dyrras, which rose up to assist Heracles when he was burning. 20 stadia

- farther is the river Melas, and five stadia [rather more
 199 than half a mile] from that is Trachis, where the country
 is widest from the mountains to the sea, being 22,000 ple-
 thra broad. [This is evidently a mistake.] In the moun-
 tains enclosing Trachinia there is a ravine south of Tra-
 200 chis, through which flows the Asopus. South of Asopus is
 the Phoenix, where the country is narrowest, and only ad-
 mits one carriage. It is 15 stadia [nearly two miles] from
 Phoenix to Thermopylæ, and between them is the village
 Anthela, by which the Asopus flows into the sea. The
 country is wide here, and in it stands the precinct of the
 Amphictyonic Demeter, the seats of the Amphictyons, and
 201 a temple of Amphictyon. Here, in Trachinia of Malis,
 Xerxes formed his camp, whilst the Greeks posted them-
 selves in the pass of Thermopylæ, called by the natives,
 Pylæ. The former held all the north as far as Trachis,
 and the Greeks all the south.

- 202 **Thermopylæ.** **Greek force at Thermopylæ: under Leo-
 nidas.**—The Greek force at Thermopylæ con-
 sisted of 300 Spartans, 500 Tegeans, 500 Mantineans,
 120 Orchomenians, 1000 Arcadians, 400 Corinthians,
 200 Phliusians, 80 Mycenseans, 700 Thespians, 400 The-
 203 bans, 1000 Phocians, and all the forces of the Opuntian
 Locrians. The Phocians and Locrians had been sum-
 moned by special messengers. They had been reminded
 that the invader was not a god but a mortal; that the
 sea was guarded by Athens and Ægina, and the other
 maritime states, and that the troops now sent were only
 forerunners of the general army of the allies, which would
 204 speedily follow. All the above nations had separate
 generals; but Leonidas, king of Sparta, was commander-
 in-chief.

- 205 **Account of Leonidas.**—The ancestors of Leonidas were
 Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eury-
 crates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Telechus, Archelaus, Age-
 silaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurys-
 thenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus,
 and Heracles. He had two elder brothers, Cleomenes,
 who died without male issue, and Dorieus, who was slain
 in Sicily, (v. 42—45,) and therefore having married the
 daughter of Cleomenes, and being older than Cleombrotus

the youngest son of Anaxandrides, he succeeded to the throne of Sparta.

Leonidas had selected 300 Spartans who had children, and was especially careful to take with him the 400 Thebans under Leontiades, who were suspected of favouring Xerxes. The Lacedæmonians had sent these 300 Spartans forward, lest their allies should join the Medes if they heard of any delay; but the Carnean festival was approaching, after which they purposed sending their whole forces, and their confederates determined to do the same after the Olympic games.

Persians advance: terror of the Greeks.—As the Persians approached the pass, the Greeks at Thermopylæ became alarmed, and the Peloponnesians proposed retiring to the Peloponnesus to guard the Isthmus; but Leonidas, perceiving the Phocians and Locrians indignantly opposing the proposition, determined to stay there and send to the cities for assistance. Meanwhile, Xerxes being informed of their numbers by a spy, who saw the Lacedæmonians at gymnastic exercises and combing their hair, sent for Demaratus, who assured him that the Spartans would fight for the pass, for it was their custom to dress the head when about to hazard the life.

Persians repulsed by the Greeks.—Xerxes however waited four days for the Greeks to retreat, and on the fifth he sent the Medes and Cissians to take them alive. These were repulsed by the Greeks after a whole day's engagement. Xerxes then ordered up the "Immortals," under Hydarnes, but the Lacedæmonians repulsed them by pretending to retreat and then turning round suddenly upon them. Three times during this battle Xerxes sprang from his throne in fears for his army. The next day the battle was renewed with similar success, for though the Greeks were wounded and weary, yet they fought in turn according to their nations, except the Phocians, who were stationed at the mountain to guard the path [of Anopæa].

Ephialtes acquaints Xerxes with the secret path of Anopæa.—At this time Ephialtes, a Malian, offered to show Xerxes a path over the mountain to Thermopylæ. This Ephialtes afterwards, fearing the Lacedæmonians, fled to Thessaly, and a price was set on his head by the

- Pylagori: he subsequently went to Anticyra, and was
 214 slain by Athenades. Another account states that it was
 Onetes and Corydallus who showed the path, but Herodo-
 tus does not believe it, as the price was set on the head
 215 of Ephialtes, who therefore fled. Xerxes immediately
 sent Hydarnes with his troops (c. 83) to follow Ephialtes.
 The path had been discovered by the Malians, who con-
 ducted the Thessalians through it against the Phocians,
 when the Phocians had fortified Thermopylæ with a wall
 216 (c. 176). The path is called Anopæa, after the hill Ano-
 pæa, and begins at the Asopus, ascending the gorge of
 the river, and ends near Alpenus, the first Locrian city
 on the Malian side, and where stands the rock Melam-
 pygus and the seats of the Cercopes, and there the path
 is narrowest. [It thus crosses the crest of Mount Ceta,
 and descends in the rear of Thermopylæ.]
- 217 **Persians under Hydarnes proceed along Anopæa :
 Phocians fly.**—The Persians, having crossed the Asopus,
 ascended this path and marched all night with the Ceta
 range on their right and the Trachinian mountains on
 their left; and at the morning dawn they reached the
 summit of the Ceta range, where 1000 heavy-armed Pho-
 218 cians kept guard. The mountain is covered with oaks,
 and the Phocians discovered the Persians by the rustling
 of the leaves, and instantly sprung to arms. Hydarnes
 feared they were Spartans, but being informed of the
 truth by Ephialtes, he prepared to force a passage. The
 Phocians were assailed by a thick shower of arrows, and
 believing themselves to be the sole object of attack, they
 retreated to the highest peak of the ridge to meet their
 fate, but the Persians did not pursue them, but hastily
 descended the mountain [toward Alpenus].
- 219 **Leonidas alone at Thermopylæ, with Spartans, The-
 sspians, and Thebans.**—Meanwhile the Greeks at Ther-
 mopylæ were warned of their fate: 1st, by Megistias, an
 augur, who announced that death awaited them at dawn;
 2nd, by deserters, who reported how the Persians were
 coming; and, 3rd, by scouts who ran down from the hills
 at day-break. Accordingly, they immediately held a
 council of war, and most of them returned home, being,
 220 as some say, dismissed by Leonidas, lest they should

perish. Herodotus is inclined to think that he saw his allies were disinclined to share the danger, and sent them away, but would not himself retire, as the Pythia had foretold as follows, that Lacedæmon must be destroyed or their king perish :

“ Hear me, ye men of spacious Lacedæmon !
 Either your glorious town must be destroyed,
 By the fell hands of warriors sprung from Perseus,
 Or else the confines of fair Lacedæmon
 Must mourn a king of Heracleidan race.
 For all the strength of lions or of bulls
 Is nought to him who has the strength of Zeus ;
 And never shall that monarch be restrained
 Until he takes your city or your king.”

Leonidas also sent away Megistias the augur, who, how- 221
 ever, did not depart, but merely dismissed his only son.
 The Thespians and Thebans alone remained with Leoni- 222
 das and his Spartans, the former of their free will, the
 latter as hostages.

Xerxes advances: battle of Thermopylæ, 480. — 223
 Xerxes having poured out libations at sunrise, marched
 upon the Greeks at noon. The latter, leaving the wall
 which had formerly protected them, advanced into the
 wider parts of the defile, and an obstinate conflict ensued.
 The Barbarians fell in multitudes ; the officers of the
 squadrons urged them on with scourges, and many perish-
 ed in the sea, whilst others were trodden under foot, be-
 side those who fell before the desperate valour of the
 Lacedæmonians. The lances of the Greeks were shattered 224
 to pieces, and they had commenced cutting down the
 Persians with their swords, when Leonidas fell. A 225
 furious struggle ensued over his body, and two brothers
 of Xerxes were slain, when the corpse was borne off by
 the Greeks, after having four times repulsed the Per-
 sians. This close combat lasted till the party guided by
 Ephialtes had arrived, when the Greeks retreated within
 the wall to a narrower part, and there all except the
 Thebans took up their position, on the rising ground
 where now stands the stone lion to the memory of Leoni-
 das. There some defended themselves with swords, and
 others with their hands and teeth, till surrounded and

attacked on every side, they were all, except two, buried beneath the arrows of the Persians.

- 226 **Bravery of Dieneces.**—Although the Lacedæmonians and Thespians thus valiantly fought, yet Dieneces the Spartan is said to have been the bravest man; for, having heard a Trachinian say, that the multitude of Medic arrows would obscure the sun, fearlessly replied, that they
- 227 would then fight in the shade. Next to him were distinguished Alpheus and Maron, two Lacedæmonian brothers, and Dithyrampus, a Thespian.

- 228 **Monuments at Thermopylæ.**—The slain were all buried where they fell, and the Amphictyons placed a monument with two inscriptions: the first was in honour of those who fell before Leonidas dismissed the allies, and was as follows:

“From Peloponnesus came four thousand men;
And on this spot fought with three hundred myriads.”

The second, which was peculiar to the Spartans, said:

“Go, stranger! tell the Lacedæmonians, here
We lie, obedient to their stern commands!”

An engraved monument was also erected to Megistias the augur, by his friend Simonides, and was as follows:

“The monument of famed Megistias,—
Slain by the Medes what time they passed the Sperchius;
A seer, who, though he knew impending fate,
Would not desert the gallant chiefs of Sparta.”

- 229 **The Greek survivors.**—The two who escaped were Aristodemus and Eurytus. Aristodemus was said to have been sent with Eurytus to Alpenus, both of them having diseased eyes; but Eurytus, hearing of the battle, ordered his Helot to lead him into the conflict, where he perished, and Aristodemus, being left behind, was much
- 230 reviled on his return to Sparta. Others say that he was only sent as a messenger from the camp, but lingered on
- 231 his return. Either way he met with constant insult, till he redeemed his character at the battle of Platæa (ix. 71).
- 232 Pantites is also said to have survived, from being sent to Thessaly; and on returning to Sparta he hung himself.
- 233 **Thebans surrender.**—When the Greeks had retired to the rising ground, the Thebans under Leontiades left

them and surrendered to the Persians, alleging that they had been the first to send earth and water, and only served in the Greek army on compulsion. Some however, whilst coming up, and nearly all the remainder, were branded, including Leontiades, whose son, Eurymachus, was afterwards slain by the Plateans, when entering their citadel at the head of 400 Thebans.

Xerxes advised by Demaratus.—After the battle 234 Xerxes asked Demaratus about the Lacedæmonians, who replied, that Sparta held 8000 equal to those who had fallen at Thermopylæ, but that the other Lacedæmonians were inferior. He then advised Xerxes to send 300 ships 235 to the island of Cythera, off Laconia, where they might keep the Lacedæmonians in constant alarm, and prevent them from succouring the rest of Greece. He added, that Chilon had declared the island to be dangerous to the Lacedæmonians, and also assured him that if he did not take this course, he must expect a violent struggle at a narrow isthmus in the Peloponnesus. Achæmenes, how- 236 ever, the brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, dissuaded the king from this, insisting that Demaratus was not to be trusted, and that 300 vessels sent away would render the Persian and Greek fleets almost equal. Xerxes followed Achæmenes' advice, but denied the as- 237 persion on Demaratus.

Exposes the head of Leonidas.—Xerxes then passed 238 through the Lacedæmonian corpses, and ordered the head of Leonidas to be exposed on a pole, his great animosity overcoming the respect that Persians pay to the dead.

Lacedæmonians warned of the invasion by Demara- 239 **tus.**—The Lacedæmonians were the first who knew that Xerxes was preparing to invade Greece, and therefore sent to the oracle at Delphi (c. 220); for Demaratus being desirous, either through benevolence or exultation, to communicate the fact to the Greeks, did so by writing it on a wooden tablet beneath the wax, for fear of detection; and this writing was discovered by Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas.

BOOK VIII. URANIA.

HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF XERXES AND MARDONIUS IN GREECE,
FROM THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ TO ALEXANDER'S CON-
FERENCE WITH THE ATHENIANS. B. C. 480, 479.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Battles of Artemisium and Persian invasion of Delphi.*

Greek navy.—Eurybiades admiral.—Themistocles bribed by the Eubœans to keep the fleet at Artemisium.—Persians resolve to cut off the retreat of the Greeks.—Scyllias informs the Greeks.—Battles off Artemisium: 1st day; storm at night, and wreck of 200 Persian ships: 2nd day: 3rd day.—Greeks think of returning to Greece.—Hear of the defeat at Thermopylæ: leave Artemisium.—Persian crews ravage Eubœa.—Visit Thermopylæ.—Thessalians send to the Phocians: causes of their hatred.—Offer to save Phocis for 50 talents.—Guide the Persians through Doris into Phocis.—Persian army divides: one body enters Bœotia, and the other Delphi.—Flight of the Delphians.—Prodigies at Delphi.

Chap. 1—39.

II. *Invasion of Attica and battle of Salamis.*

Greek fleet reach Salamis.—Athenians send away their families.—Assembling of all the Greek allied forces.—Allied fleet at Salamis.—Council of war: whether to fight at Salamis or at the Isthmus.—Athens taken.—Xerxes sends to Artabanus: re-shooting of the sacred olive in the Acropolis.—Council dissolved: Greeks prepare to leave Salamis.—Themistocles persuades Eurybiades to call a second council.—His address: opposition of Adimantus.—Themistocles declares that the Athenians will sail to Italy if the allied fleet leave Salamis.—Themistocles persuades them to stop.—Earthquake.—Supernatural appearance to Dicaeus.—Persian fleet reach Phalerum.—Xerxes calls a council.—Artemisia advises against a battle.—Xerxes resolves on an engagement.—Persian fleet under weigh.—Fears of the Peloponnesians: they build a wall.—Seven Peloponnesian races.—Divisions among the Greeks at Salamis: Themistocles sends to Xerxes.—Persians post troops at Psyttalea: try to enclose the Greeks.—Remarkable oracle of Bacis.—Greeks learn from Aristides that they are enclosed by the Persians.—Harangue of Themistocles: commencement of the engagement.—Battle of Salamis, October, 480.—Stratagem of Artemisia.—Persians retreat.—Phœnicians accuse Ionians of treachery.—Xerxes views the battle.—Polycritus taunts Themistocles.—Bravest Greeks at Salamis.

Chap. 40—95.

III. *Xerxes' retreat to Asia, and affairs in Greece to Alexander's conference with the Athenians.*

Greeks prepare to renew the engagement.—Xerxes in fear for the Hellespontine bridges.—Sends a courier to Persia.—Leaves Mardonius with 300,000 troops.—Sends his children to Ephesus with Artemisia.—Story of Hermotimus.—Persian fleet sail to the Hellespont.—Pursued by the Greeks: advice of Themistocles.—Themistocles advises the Athenians to remain.—Themistocles demands money from the islanders: invests Andros.—Xerxes reaches Boeotia: Mardonius chooses his 300,000 troops.—Xerxes reaches the Hellespont.—Arrives at Sardis.—Story of his voyage.—Greeks share the spoil of the war: dedicate the choicest to Delphi.—Ballot for prizes.—Themistocles honoured at Sparta.—Artabazus's army drowned at Potidæa.—Xerxes' fleet of 300 ships watch Ionia, 479.—Ionians beg the Greeks to free them.—Greek fleet sails to Delos.—Mardonius sends Mys to consult the oracles.—Sends Alexander to Athens.—Descent of Alexander: story of Perdiccas.—Alexander's speech to the Athenians.—Spartans send to Athens.—Athenians reply to Alexander.—Reply to the Spartans. Chap. 96—144.

SUMMARY.

I. *Battles of Artemisium, and Persian invasion of Delphi,* *chap. 1—39.*

GREEK NAVY.

	Tri- remes.	Pente- conters.
Athenians, with Plateans amongst their crews	127	1
Corinthians	40	
Megarians	20	
Chalcidians, in Athenian vessels	20	
Æginetans	18	
Sicyonians	12	
Lacedæmonians	10	
Epidaurians	8	
Eretrians	7	
Troezenians	5	
Styrians	2	
Ceians	2	2
Opuntian Locrians	0	7
	<hr/> 271	<hr/> 9

- 2 **Artemisium** on the north coast of Eubœa. **Eurybiades** **admiral.**—The fleet was commanded by Eurybiades, a Spartan, for the Lacedæmonians having refused to serve under Athenian leaders, the Athenians gave way for the sake of Greece. Long afterwards the Athenians made the arrogance of Pausanias an excuse for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the command.

- Themistocles** **bribed by the Eubœans to keep the fleet at Artemisium.**—The Greeks at Artemisium, deliberating on the number and success of the invaders, thought of retreating to the interior. The Eubœans tried to persuade Eurybiades to remain until they could place their children in safety, but could not prevail, and at length bribed the Athenian admiral, Themistocles, with 30 talents, [£7200,] to promise that the fleet should remain and engage the enemy off Eubœa. Themistocles then bribed Eurybiades with five talents, [£1200,] and Adimantus the Corinthian commander with three talents, [£720,] both of whom thought the money came from the Athenians, and Themistocles kept the remainder himself. Adimantus had at first determined to leave Artemisium, but Themistocles swore to give him greater gifts to stay with his allies than Xerxes would for abandoning them.

- 6 **Persians resolve to cut off the retreat of the Greeks.**—Meanwhile the Persians had arrived at Aphetæ, (vi. 193,) and learning that a few Greek ships were stationed at Artemisium, they resolved to attack them, but not on the evening of their arrival, lest the vessels should escape in the dark. They then sent 200 ships outside Sciathus, to sail round Eubœa, and prevent the Greeks from retreating through the Euripus; whilst they themselves determined on attacking them in the front, on receiving the signal of the arrival of the 200.

- 8 **Scyllias informs the Greeks.**—Scyllias of Scione, a diver, who, after the storm off Pelion, had saved some of the treasure for the Persians, and kept some himself, now escaped to the Greeks and informed them of this intention, reaching them it is said by swimming under water from Aphetæ to Artemisium, a distance of 80 stadia [10 miles]. Herodotus however thinks he went in a boat.

- 9 **Battles off Artemisium: 1st Day.**—The Greeks de-

terminated after midnight to proceed against the 200, but meanwhile finding no ships coming from Aphetæ, they determined to try their strength the same afternoon, and attack the enemy there. When the Persians saw the Greeks approaching, they considered them an easy prey, and enclosed them in a circle. The Ionians also, who were well affected to the Greeks, looked upon their case as hopeless; whilst the rest vied with each other to take the first Athenian ship and receive a reward from the king. At the 1st signal the Greeks drew their line into a smaller circle, with their prows facing the surrounding Persians; and at the 2nd they commenced the attack, and took 30 of the enemy's ships and Philaon, brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis [in Cyprus]. Lycomedes, an Athenian, obtained the prize for taking the first ship. At night-fall the combatants separated, the Greeks to Artemisium and the Barbarians to Aphetæ. Antidorus, a Lemnian, was the only deserter from the Persians to the allies, and he was afterwards rewarded by the Athenians with lands in Salamis.

Storm at night: wreck of the 200 Persian ships.— It was now the middle of summer, and at night a violent storm of rain and thunder alarmed the Persians at Aphetæ, and drove the wrecks and dead bodies against their oars; whilst the 200 who were sailing round Eubœa were dashed upon the rocks near the Hollows, which misfortune Herodotus ascribes to the deity, who wished to make the Persian force equal to the Greek.

2nd Day.—The Greeks were now reinforced by Attic ships, and being further encouraged by the news of the Persian losses, then attacked and destroyed the Cilian ships, and returned at night to Artemisium.

3rd Day.—On the third day the Persian commanders, fearing the anger of Xerxes, attacked the Greeks about noon, and this struggle for the Euripus took place on the same day that Leonidas was defending Thermopylæ. The Greeks remained quiet off Artemisium, whilst the Barbarians advanced in a line; but when they formed a crescent, the Greeks sailed out and engaged. The forces were now nearly matched, for the fleet of Xerxes was impeded by its magnitude. Many Greek ships and men

were destroyed, but still more of the Barbarians, till at
 17 length both parties separated to their stations. On the
 Barbarian side the Egyptians were most distinguished,
 having taken five Greek ships and their crews. Among
 the Greeks the Athenians were most signalized, and
 amongst them Clinias, son of Alcibiades, who had joined
 the fleet with a ship and 200 men at his own expense.

18 **Greeks think of returning to Greece.**—Half the
 Athenian ships being disabled, and the rest of the fleet
 much injured, the Greeks debated on retiring to Greece ;

19 but Themistocles considered, that if he could gain over
 the Ionians and Carians the rest might be easily defeated.
 He therefore first advised the Greeks to stop and kindle
 fires and kill the Eubœan cattle, that they might have

20 them, instead of the enemy. For the Eubœans, having
 disregarded the oracles of Bacis, had neither collected
 stores nor placed their property in safety. The oracle
 had been as follows :

“ Oh ye, beware of him, Barbarian-tongued !
 And when he yokes the sea with bands of byblus,
 Remove the bleating goats from fair Eubœa ! ”

21 **Hear of the defeat at Thermopylæ: leave Artemisium.**

—At this juncture a scout arrived from Trachis with
 news of the fall of Leonidas ; for Polyas of Anticyra had
 been stationed to carry information from Artemisium to
 Thermopylæ, and Abronychus an Athenian to take it
 from Thermopylæ to Artemisium. Upon this the Greek
 fleet left Artemisium without delay, the Corinthians in
 22 the van, and Athenians in the rear. Before leaving,
 Themistocles cut inscriptions on the Artemisium rocks,
 calling upon the Ionians and Carians either to desert to
 the Greeks, withdraw from the contest, or behave cowardly
 during the action. This he did either to induce them to
 change sides, or cause them to be suspected and excluded
 from the sea-fights.

23 **Persians ravage Eubœa.**—Immediately

Eubœa and
 Thermopylæ.

after this an Histiean went over and in-
 formed the Persian fleet of the departure of
 the Greeks. The Barbarians having proved the fact by
 sending swift vessels to reconnoitre, sailed to Artemisium,

and from thence to Histiaë, where they ravaged the Ellopian district.

Visit Thermopylæ.—Whilst the fleet was thus employed, Xerxes sent to invite the crews to visit the slain at Thermopylæ, having previously buried 19,000 out of 20,000 corpses of his own troops, in order to deceive the crews. This device was unsuccessful, as the 4000 of the Greek corpses all lay in one place, whilst the 1000 Barbarians were scattered throughout the field; moreover, many of the former were Helots. Some Arcadian deserters offered their services to Xerxes, and informed him that the Greeks were then celebrating the Olympic games, at which the prize was only a crown of olive (vii. 206). Upon this Tritantæchmes, son of Artabanus, incurred the charge of cowardice, by saying, "What must those men be, who contend, not for wealth, but glory!"

Thessalians send to the Phocians: causes of their hatred.—After the defeat at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, (vii. 176,) whom they hated for the following reason. Having once invaded Phocis, and shut up the Phocians in Parnassus, Tellias, the Elean prophet, chalked over the armour of 600 of the bravest Phocians, who attacked the Thessalians by night, struck them with a panic, and routed their whole army, after killing 4000 and taking their shields. Half of these shields they dedicated at Abæ, and the other half at Delphi, and with a tenth of the spoil gave those large statues which stand in front of both temples. During the same invasion they also ruined the Thessalian cavalry by placing empty jars in a large pit near Hyampolis, which broke the legs of the horses.

Offer to save Phocis for 50 talents.—The Thessalian herald now sent to the Phocians, and offered to avert the evils which threatened them upon their paying 50 silver talents [£12,000]. The Phocians were the only people in those parts who had not joined the Medes, but Herodotus thinks that they were only prevented from doing so by their hatred of the Thessalians. They now indignantly replied that they could go over to the Medes as well as the Thessalians, but scorned to do so.

Guide the Persians through Doris into Phocis.—The

- Thessalians, incensed at this answer, guided the Persians from Trachinia into Doris, which is a narrow strip of Doric territory, about 30 stadia [nearly 4 miles] broad, anciently called Dryopis, and the mother country of the Dorians of Peloponnesus (comp. i. 56). Doris or Dryopis is situated between Malis and Phocis, and being friendly to the Medes, was respected both by the Persians and Thessalians. On the approach of the Persians, part of the Phocians fled to the summit of Parnassus, called Tithorea, but the greater number to Amphissa, a city of the Locri Ozolæ, in the Crisæan plain. The Persians marched along the river Cephissus, and pillaged and burnt the cities of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedicæ, Tritæa, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abæ, in which last city was the temple of Apollo, which was plundered and burnt with the rest. Several Phocians were also captured and slain, and many women brutally murdered.
- 34 **Persians divide: one body enters Bœotia, the other Delphi.**—The Persians having passed Parapotamii, reached Panopeus, and there divided into two bodies. The largest, under Xerxes, entered Bœotia at Orchomenus and marched towards Athens, Bœotia having surrendered to the Medes; and Macedonian soldiers were posted in the different towns by Alexander, to save the cities and inform Xerxes of their submission. The other body marched towards Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right, and ravaging every place belonging to Phocis, and burning the cities of the Panopians, Daulians, and Æolians, having been detached to plunder the temple of Delphi, whose treasures, especially those given by Cræsus, (i. 50,) were even better known to Xerxes than those of Persia.
- 35 **Flight of the Delphians.**—The Delphians, terrified at the approach of the Persians, consulted the oracle respecting the sacred treasures, who replied, that the god could defend his own. They then sent their wives and children across to Achaia, and all abandoned the city except 60 men and the prophet, some ascending Parnassus, and placing their goods in the Corycian cavern, and others retiring to Amphissa, in Locris.

Prodigies at Delphi.—When the Barbarians ap- 37
 proached within sight of the temple, Aceratus the prophet saw that the sacred armour, which was kept within the sanctuary, and which no mortal hand might touch, had been miraculously conveyed without, and he immediately announced the prodigy to the Delphians. The enemy had reached the temple of Athene of the Vestibule, when thunder-bolts fell from heaven, and two huge crags from Parnassus burst upon them and killed many, whilst war-shouts arose from the enclosure. The Bar- 38
 barians were struck with terror, and the Delphians seeing them fly, descended and slaughtered multitudes; the survivors fled to Bœotia, declaring they were pursued by two heavy-armed men of super-human stature, whom 39
 the Delphians say were the tutelary heroes Phylacus and Autonus, whose precincts were near the temple. The crags were lying where they fell down to the time of Herodotus.

II. *Invasion of Attica and battle of Salamis, chap.*

40—95.

Greek fleet reach Salamis.—Meanwhile 40
 the Greek fleet from Artemisium (c. 21) had sailed to Salamis at the request of the Athenians, who desired to remove their wives and children from Attica, and moreover had heard that the Peloponnesian forces, instead of preparing to oppose the enemy in Bœotia, were mindful only of guarding the Peloponnesus, and were therefore building a wall over the Isthmus of Corinth.

CENTRAL
GREECE.

Isle of Salamis.

Athenians send away their families.—The Athenians 41
 on board then hastened to Attica, and proclaimed that each should save his family as he pleased. The greatest number were then sent to Trœzen, and others to Ægina and Salamis; and all haste was used, as the priestess had announced that the enormous serpent which was said to dwell in the temple of Athene and guard the Acropolis, had not of late eaten the honey-cake placed monthly for it, and the Athenians now supposed that the goddess had left the citadel (vii. 140—143).

Assembling of all the Greek allied forces.—The rest 42

of the Greek navy now joined the Artemisium fleet at Salamis from Pogon, a Trœzenian port, where they had been ordered to muster (c. 2); and the combined forces were now larger than those which had fought at Artemisium, and commanded by the same general, Eurybiades. The best ships were supplied by the Athenians.

ALLIED FLEET AT SALAMIS.

		Ships.	Pente- conters.
43	Lacedæmonians	16	
	Corinthians	40	
	Sicyonians	15	
	Epidaurians	10	
	Trœzenians	5	
	The above were of Doric and Macedonian extraction, having migrated from Erineum, Pindus, and Dryopis.		
44	Hermionians	3	
	Dryopians, driven from Dryopis, now called Doris by Heracles and the Malians.		
	Athenians*	180	
	Originally Pelasgians, and called Cranai; un- der Cecrops called Cecropidæ; under Erectheus, Athenians; and under Ion, Ionians.		
45	Megarians	20	
	Ambraciots	7	
	Leucadians	3	
	Dorians, from Corinth.		
46	Æginetans	30	
	Dorians from Epidaurus: their island was for- merly called CEnone.		
	Chalcidians	20	
	Eretrians	7	
	Ionians.		
	Ceians	2	2
	Naxians	4	
	Ionians, from Athens.		
	Styreans	2	
	Cythnians	1	1
	Dryopians.		
Carried forward		365	3

* The Platæans were not at Salamis, having stopped on their way from Artemisium to remove their families and effects (c. 44).

	Brought forward	Ships.	Pente- conters.
Crotonians		365	3
Acheans.		1	
Malians			2 48
Lacedæmonians.			
Siphnians			1
Seriphians			1
		<hr/>	
		366	7

Herodotus declares the total number of vessels, exclusive of penteconters, to have been 378; [which cannot be reconciled with the above calculation.]

All these nations lay to the south of Thesprotia and the river Acheron. The Ambraciots and Leucadians were the most remote nations of the Greek continent who joined the fleet. West of the Adriatic, Croton alone sent one ship, commanded by Phayllus, who had been thrice victorious in the Pythian games.

Council of war: whether to fight at Salamis or at the Isthmus.—At Salamis the leaders held a council. Attica might be regarded as lost, and the majority now considered that it would be better to sail to the Isthmus and defend the Peloponnesus; for if defeated at Salamis, they would be blocked up in the island, where no succours could reach them, but if defeated at the Isthmus, they might escape to their cities.

News arrives: Persians have reached Athens.—During the debate an Athenian came with the news that the Barbarians had ravaged Attica, after burning Thespia and Platæa, and had arrived at Athens whilst Calliades was archon, exactly three months from their leaving the Hellespont.

Athens taken.—The deserted city had fallen an easy prey. The few remaining citizens, including the treasurers of the temple, had retired to the Acropolis and fortified it with planks and stakes, not having removed to Salamis, partly from want of means, and partly because they thought their place of refuge was the "wooden walls" of the

Athens and
Salamis.

- 52 oracle (vii. 142). But the Persians had posted themselves on the **Areopagus**, opposite the Acropolis, and fired the fence by discharging arrows wrapped round with lighted tow; yet the besieged refused to listen to terms, even from the **Pisistratidæ**, and hurled huge stones on all
- 53 who approached the gates. At length the enemy effected an entrance on the northern side, which was deemed impregnable. [Here the Cecropian hill terminates in the precipices anciently called the Long Rocks, from whence the daughters of Cecrops are said to have thrown themselves.] Near this spot is the temple of **Aglauros**, daughter of Cecrops. The Athenians had not guarded this impending steep, up which however some of the Barbarians actually climbed, and thus fulfilled the oracle, which declared that all continental Attica should be subdued by the Persians. Many of the Athenians then threw themselves from the wall and perished; others took refuge in the temple: but the Persians, having opened the gates, slew the suppliants, pillaged the sanctuary, and set fire to all the buildings of the Acropolis.
- 54 **Xerxes sends to Artabanus: re-shooting of the sacred olive in the Acropolis.**—Xerxes having thus taken Athens, despatched a horseman to Artabanus at Susa to announce his success. The next day, either in consequence of a dream or religious scruple, he ordered the Athenian exiles in his train to sacrifice after their own
- 55 manner in the Acropolis. Now here there is a shrine to **Erectheus** the earth-born, [and foster-child of Athene,] and within his fane is the salt pool which had gushed from the trident of **Poseidon**, and the sacred olive by which Athene, when contesting with the latter, had proved her claim to the country. The olive had perished in the conflagration on the previous day, but the Athenian exiles now declared that a fresh shoot had sprung from the stump to the height of a cubit [$1\frac{1}{2}$ feet].
- 56 **Council dissolved: Greeks prepare to leave Salamis.**—When the Greeks at Salamis heard that the Athenian Acropolis was actually in the possession of Xerxes, many of the generals rushed to their ships and hoisted sail to depart, whilst the others determined to give battle off the Isthmus, and at night-fall went aboard.

Themistocles persuades Eurybiades to call a second council.—Themistocles, on returning to his ship, related the result of the conference to Mnesiphilus, who at once said that if the fleet left Salamis not Eurybiades nor any one else could prevent its dispersion, and he exhorted Themistocles to return and try to persuade the commander-in-chief to annul the decision of the council. Themistocles then hastened to the ship of Eurybiades, repeated to him the words of Mnesiphilus, and at length prevailed on him to call another council.

His address : opposition of Adimantus.—Before Eurybiades laid the business before this council, Themistocles earnestly pressed his advice upon the assembly, but was rebuked by Adimantus, who said, "Those who start before the signal are scourged." Themistocles mildly replied, "But those who lag behind do not win the crown," and then formally addressed Eurybiades ; but as it would not have been becoming to have urged in open council the probable dispersion of the fleet, if it left Salamis, he spoke as follows : "1. By engaging off the Isthmus you must fight in the open sea, which is disadvantageous, from our ships being heavy and few. Moreover, even if successful, you must lose Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, for the land-forces of the enemy will follow close upon their navy, and thus yourselves will lead them to the Peloponnesus. 2. First, at Salamis the narrow space will be advantageous to us ; second, our children and wives have been conveyed thither ; and, third, you will fight for the Peloponnesus just as much there as at the Isthmus. 3. If we conquer, the Barbarians will never approach the Isthmus, nor advance beyond Attica ; and we have an oracle, saying that we shall conquer at Salamis (vii. 141)."

Themistocles declares that the Athenians will sail to Italy, if the allied fleet leave Salamis.—When Themistocles had concluded, Adimantus ungenerously alluded to the capture of Athens, by saying that a man of no country ought to be silent, and was not entitled to a vote. Themistocles was now aroused, and severely replied, that as long as the Athenians had 200 ships fully manned, and such as none of the Greeks could resist, they had a city and country greater than the Corinthians. He then

- turned to Eurybiades and said,—“If you remain here you will act the part of a brave man; but if not, you will ruin Greece. Our success depends upon our fleet. Yield then to my advice: otherwise, we and our families will sail to Siris in Italy, which is our ancient possession, and which the oracles say we are destined to occupy; and you, when bereft of our alliance, will remember my words.” Eurybiades was now terrified, and resolved on remaining at Salamis, and preparations were made for an engagement.
- 64 **Earthquake.**—The next day at sunrise an earthquake determined the Greeks to pray to the gods, invoke Ajax and Telamon, and send a vessel to Ægina for Æacus and the Æacidæ (c. 83).
- 65 **Supernatural appearance to Dicæus.**—Dicæus, an Athenian exile, esteemed by the Medes, declared that when Attica was ravaged by Xerxes he saw, whilst in company with Demaratus, a cloud of dust arising from Eleusis as from a crowd of 30,000 men, and heard a sound like that of the mystic Iacchus. Demaratus, who was uninitiated in the mysteries of Eleusis, asked what the sound was? when Dicæus told him that it proceeded from Eleusis to the assistance of the Greeks; and that if it turned toward Peloponnesus, it threatened Xerxes and his land army; but if toward Salamis, the fleet. The dust and sound afterwards changed to a cloud, and bore away for Salamis.
- 66 **Persian fleet reach Phalerum.**—After the Persian crews had viewed the dead at Thermopylæ, (c. 24,) they crossed over from Trachis to Histiaæ, and remained there for three days, and then sailed down the Euripus, and in three days more were at Phalerum. The Persian naval force was now as large as when it arrived at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, for those who perished in the engagements there, and in the storm, were set off by the nations who had not at that time joined: viz.—The Malians, Dorians, Locrians, Bœotians, (except the Thespians and Plateæans,) Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, and all the rest of the islanders except the Naxians, Melians, Siphnians, Seriphians, and Cythnians (c. 46).
- 67 **Xerxes calls a council.**—The united Barbarian fleet

having all reached Phalerum except the Parians, who were staying at Cythnus to watch the war, Xerxes sat on his throne, and summoned all the tyrants and admirals. These were then seated according to rank, 1st, the Sidonian king, 2nd, the Tyrian, and then the others. Xerxes then sent Mardonius round to inquire of each if he advised that a battle should be given.

Artemisia advises against a battle.—They all recommended an immediate engagement, except Artemisia, (vii. 99,) who, 1st, declared that the Barbarian crews were as inferior to the Greeks as women to men, and that as Xerxes had now taken Athens and the whole of Greece, he need not risk a sea-fight. 2nd, That if he kept his own fleet back, the Greek fleet must disperse from want of provisions; and that if he marched his land-forces into the Peloponnesus, they would never remain quiet, nor care to give battle for the Athenians alone. 3rd, That though Xerxes was the best of men, yet he had bad servants in his fleet, viz. the Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians, who were useless.

Xerxes resolves on an engagement.—It was expected that this advice of Artemisia would lead to her punishment, and it therefore grieved her friends and delighted her enemies. But Xerxes was pleased with it, though he decided upon following the majority, attributing the remissness of his fleet off Artemisium to his own absence, and resolving on the present occasion to overlook the combat.

Persian fleet under weigh.—The signal being given, the Persian fleet proceeded to Salamis and formed their line, but were overtaken by night. Meanwhile the Greeks, especially the Peloponnesians, were terrified because they were about to fight only for the Athenians, and if conquered they would be besieged in the island whilst the Barbarians were ravaging their own country, for the land-force of Xerxes had that very night commenced marching to the Peloponnesus.

Fears of the Peloponnesians: they build a wall.—Some time before, when the Peloponnesians first heard of the fall of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, they had assembled in thousands under Cleombrotus, his brother, and worked day and night in

Pelopon-
nesus.

blocking up the pass of Sciron, and building a wall across the Isthmus. The assembled multitude included the whole force of the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Elians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Træzenians, and Hermionians; the rest remained neutral, or rather sided with the Medes.

- 73 **Seven Peloponnesian races.**—There are seven races in the Peloponnesus, viz. 1. The **ARCADIANS**. 2. The **CYNURIANS**: these two are aborigines of the soil they now inhabit; but the Cynurians are thought to be Ionians, though, like the Orneates and their neighbours, they have become Dorians from being governed by the Argives. 3. The **ACHÆANS**, who are also aborigines of Peloponnesus, but have migrated from their original soil. 4. The **DORIANS**, who have many cities. 5. The **ÆTOLIANS**, who only have Elis. 6. The **DREOPES**, who have the cities of Hermione and Asine, near Cardamyla in Laconia. And, 7. The **LEMNIANS**, who have all the Paroreates. These last four are foreign nations.

- 74 **Divisions among the Greeks at Salamis:**

Salamis.

Themistocles sends to Xerxes.—The Peloponnesians at the Isthmus laboured as if their only hope depended upon the completion of the work, and despaired of any brilliant achievement from the fleet; whilst those at Salamis were more alarmed for the Peloponnesus than for themselves. The murmurs in the fleet at length broke out openly, and a council was held, when all except the Athenians, Æginetans, and Megarians, were for departing to the Peloponnesus. At this moment Themistocles sent Sicinnus, his children's tutor, with this message to the Persian admiral. "Themistocles the Athenian general wishes well to the king. He has therefore sent without the knowledge of the Greeks, to say that they are either panic-struck, or bent on flight. If you prevent their escape you are certain of the most splendid success, and you will see the two parties—those on your side, and those against you, turning their arms against each other."

- 75 **Persians post troops at Psyttalea: try to enclose the Greeks.**—The Persians easily credited this message, and landed some troops on the island Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the main-land, to protect their men

- 76 **Persians post troops at Psyttalea: try to enclose the Greeks.**—The Persians easily credited this message, and landed some troops on the island Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the main-land, to protect their men

and ships who might suffer in the battle, and to destroy those of the enemy who might seek refuge on its shores. They were then desirous of investing Salamis and cutting off all escape from the Greeks. Accordingly at midnight they silently moved from Phalerum [to block up each of the narrow channels by which Salamis is separated, on the east from Attica, on the west from Megara. One line stretched from Cynosura, the eastern promontory of Salamis, to the Attic port of Munychium: another from Ceos, probably the western cape of Salamis, round the mouth of the other strait].* These movements occupied the whole night and left no time for repose.

Remarkable oracle of Bacis.—Herodotus here mentions the following remarkable oracle of Bacis: 77

“When they shall bridge with ships the sacred shore
Of fair Artemis with the golden quiver,
And sea-girt Cynosura; and when they
Madly shall sack Athene’s lovely city;—
Then divine Vengeance shall arise and quench
Presumption, son of Arrogance, who thought
With dire ambition to subvert the world:
Then brass shall clash with brass, and fiery Ares
Redden the sea with blood; then benign Victory
Joined with far-glancing Chronos, shall bring on
Once more the day of liberty for Greece.”

He adds, that when he considers how this was fulfilled, he will neither contradict oracles himself, nor allow others.

Greeks learn that they are enclosed by the Persians.— 78
The Greek generals at Salamis were still disputing, when 79
ARISTIDES, who had been banished by ostracism from Athens, but whom Herodotus considers to have been the most upright man in the city, crossed over from Ægina, and though Themistocles was his most bitter enemy, he thus addressed him: “It is right that we should strive who can best serve his country. You are wasting words in debating whether to sail away or not: the Greek fleet is encircled by the enemy’s ships.” Themistocles in re- 80
ply made no secret of his having sent to Xerxes and produced this result, and begged Aristides to inform the council himself of the impossibility of flight. The latter did 81

* See Thirlwall’s Greece, vol. ii.

- so, and mentioned the difficulty he had found in crossing from Ægina through the enemy's fleet. After he had withdrawn, fresh altercations arose, for the majority of
- 82 the captains disbelieved him, when a trireme arrived, manned by Tenian deserters commanded by Panætius, who confirmed the report. For this action their name was engraved on the tripod at Delphi. This vessel and the Lemnian ship which joined the Greeks off Artemisium (c. 11) made up the Greek navy to 380 ships (c. 48).
- 83 **Harangue of Themistocles: commencement of the engagement.**—At the dawn of day the Greeks prepared for battle, and Themistocles eloquently harangued them, setting on the one side all that was best, on the other all that was worst, in the condition of man, and exhorting them to choose and hold fast the good. He concluded by ordering them all on board, and whilst embarking, the
- 84 trireme arrived with the Æacidæ from Ægina. The Greeks now got under weigh, but the Barbarians advancing upon them, they backed to the shore. Aminias, an Athenian, then, according to the Athenians, attacked a ship, and got entangled, upon which the other allies came to his assistance, and the battle became general. The Æginetans declare that the engagement was commenced by the vessel which had brought the Æacidæ; and a story is told that a woman appeared who cheered them on so as to be heard by the whole fleet, crying, "Dastards! how long will ye back water?"
- 85 **Battle of Salamis, October, 480.**—The Phœnicians were drawn up opposite the Athenians, who occupied the western wing towards Eleusis; the Ionians opposite the Lacedæmonians, who occupied the eastern wing towards Piræus. Some Ionians behaved ill in compliance with the injunctions of Themistocles (c. 22); but Theomestor and Phylacus, both Samians, captured Greek vessels. Theomestor was afterwards made tyrant of Samos, and Phylacus, son of Histæus, presented with an estate, and
- 86 called a benefactor of the king. The main portion of the Barbarian fleet was run down by the Athenians and Æginetans; for the Greeks fought orderly in line, whilst the Barbarians neither formed nor acted with coolness, though they behaved more bravely than when off Arte-

misiam, every man fighting as if the eyes of the king were upon him.

Stratagem of Artemisia.—Herodotus was not minutely 87 acquainted with the details of this action, but mentions the conduct of Artemisia. She was chased by an Attic ship, but could not escape because of the crowd of friendly vessels ahead; she then bore down upon one of Xerxes' ships, manned by Calyndians, sunk her, and thus deceived her pursuer, who supposed her to be either 88 a friend or deserter. Meanwhile Xerxes, who viewed the battle, praised her valour, thinking she had destroyed a Greek ship, and not a soul was saved from the Calyndian vessel to accuse her, and he is said to have remarked, "My men have become women, and my women, men."

Persians retreat.—Among the slain was Ariabignes, 89 brother to Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, and many other Persians of the highest rank. But few Greeks however fell in the battle, for those whose ships were destroyed, swam safely to Salamis, whilst many Barbarians, being unable to swim, were drowned.

Phœnicians accuse Ionians of treachery.—When the first line of the Persians was routed, the ships in the rear pressed forward on the van, and fouling their own vessels, 90 caused great confusion, and many were destroyed. At this period some of the Phœnicians, who had lost their ships, accused the Ionians before the king of treachery. Whilst they were speaking, a Samothracian ship sunk an Athenian, and was herself afterwards sunk by an Ægine-tan, but her crew drove back the assailants with their javelins, and then boarded the vessel. Xerxes, on seeing this, beheaded the Phœnicians, that, being cowards, they might no longer accuse the valiant. Ariaramnes, a Persian, and friend of the Ionians, contributed to this punishment.

Xerxes views the battle.—Xerxes viewed the battle from his seat at the foot of Ægialeos [the last limb of the long range of hills that, branching out from Cithæron, stretches to the coast fronting the eastern side of Salamis]; and here his secretaries wrote down the names of all who performed a gallant action.

- 91 **Polycritus taunts Themistocles.**—Whilst the Athenians were running down every vessel, whether it resisted or fled, the Æginetans stationed themselves at the
- 92 strait, and cut off the fugitives. In this encounter a Sidonian vessel, the same which had captured the Æginetan off Sciathus, and which had the valiant Pytheas still on board, (vii. 181,) was struck at the same time by the galley of Themistocles, and by that of Polycritus son of Crius of Ægina (vi. 50). Polycritus seeing the flag of the Athenian admiral, upbraided him with the charge which the Athenians had brought against the Æginetans, viz. of meditating a desertion to the enemy. Pytheas was restored to his country.
- 93 **Bravest Greeks at Salamis.**—The nations who gained most glory at Salamis were, 1st, The Æginetans, 2nd, the Athenians. The most gallant men were Polycritus of Ægina, and Eumenes and Aminias of Athens. Aminias had chased Artemisia, (c. 87,) and would never have abandoned the pursuit had he known that she was on board; for 10,000 drachmas [£400] had been offered
- 94 for her capture. A story is told by the Athenians, that Adimantus fled at the commencement of the action, and was followed by the Corinthians, but on reaching the temple of Athene Sciras, on the coast of Salamis, they were all recalled by the crew of a light bark, miraculously sent, which assured them of victory. The Corinthians deny this, and declare that they were the foremost in the battle, which is confirmed by the rest of
- 95 Greece. During the battle, Aristides embarked from Salamis with a body of heavy-armed Athenians, who had been posted along the shore, and landed at Psytalea, and put to the sword all the Persians on the island (c. 76).

III. *Xerxes' retreat to Asia, and affairs in Greece, to Alexander's conference with the Athenians, chap. 96—144.*

- 96 **Greeks prepare to renew the fight.**—The battle being over, the Greeks hauled the wrecks on shore at Salamis, and prepared for another action; but many had been driven by a westerly wind to Colias, thus fulfilling the

oracle of Lysistratus of Athens, "The Colian women shall bake with oars."

Xerxes fears for the Hellespontine bridges.—Xerxes 97 now began to think of a retreat, fearing lest the Ionians should suggest to the Greeks, or the Greeks themselves should sail to the Hellespont, and break the bridge; but in order to cover his design, he made preparations for throwing a bridge or causeway over the strait by fastening together some Phœnician transports, as if he had resolved to remain, and continue the war.

Sends a courier to Persia.—Meantime he sent a courier to Persia to announce his defeat. These couriers 98 stationed along the road, one man and horse to every day's journey, and perform their stages in all weather with the utmost celerity. The 1st delivers his message to the 2nd, the 2nd to the 3rd, and so on. The Persians call this horse post, The Relay. On the arrival of the 99 first news that Xerxes had gained Athens, the Persians strewed the road with myrtles and perfumes, but the tidings of the defeat threw them into consternation. They grieved and lamented for Xerxes until his return, and threw all the blame upon Mardonius.

Leaves Mardonius with 300,000.—Mardonius seeing 100 the king's grief, suspected that he meditated a retreat, and reflecting also that he himself would be punished for having persuaded Xerxes to the invasion, thought it would be better to subdue Greece or end his life gloriously in the attempt. He therefore bade the king not to be cast down. "The issue of the war," he said, "depends not upon ships, but upon men and horses. The Greeks will not leave their ships to oppose you on land. Those who met us in the field paid the forfeit of their temerity. Let us then attempt the Peloponnesus. If however you think fit to hold back, do so, but yield not to despondency. The Greeks cannot escape from becoming our slaves. If therefore you have determined on a retreat, do not let the honour of the Persians be tarnished by the cowardice of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, but lead back the mass of the army, and leave me to bring Greece under your sway with 300,000 men chosen from the whole." Xerxes was relieved by 101

- this proposition, and convoked his council, and then consulted privately with Artemisia, who seconded the
- 102 proposal of Mardonius. She said, "You have been successful in the object of your expedition by burning Athens. If Mardonius subdues Greece, the glory will be yours; if he fails, so long as you are safe it matters little what becomes of one of your slaves."
- 103 **Sends his children to Ephesus with Artemisia.**—Xerxes was pleased with this advice, for he was so thoroughly frightened that not all the men and women in the world would have persuaded him to remain in Greece; and he now commended Artemisia, and gave some of his natural sons into her charge to conduct to Ephesus.
- 104 **Story of Hermotimus.**—Xerxes also sent to be guardian to the children, Hermotimus a Pedasian eunuch, who was second to none in the king's favour. The Pedasians dwelt above Halicarnassus, and it is said, that when a calamity is about to fall upon them or the surrounding nations, the priestess of Minerva there has a long beard.
- 105 This prodigy has happened twice (i. 175). This Hermotimus had been castrated in his youth, and sold for a slave by one Panionius, a Chian, who got a living by selling beautiful boys as eunuchs at Ephesus and Sardis.
- 106 Hermotimus had subsequently passed to the king and risen in his service. Whilst the Persians were marching against Greece, he had met Panionius at Atarnæ in Mysia, and treacherously invited him and his family to Sardis, where he promised him many benefits in return for the advantages which he had himself enjoyed through his means. When however he had got him and his family into his power, he revenged himself by obliging the father to mutilate his sons, and the sons their father.
- 107 **Persian fleet sail to the Hellespont.**—
Hellespont-
line bridges. Xerxes now desired Mardonius to choose an army, and at night ordered the fleet to sail from Phalerum to the Hellespont to guard the bridges. Near Zoster they mistook some small promontories for ships, but soon perceiving their error, they proceeded.
- 108 **Pursued by the Greeks: advice of Themistocles.**—At

day-break the Greeks, seeing the army at their posts, concluded that the navy was still at Phalerum ; but learning its flight, they pursued it to Andros, where they held a council, and Themistocles proposed that they should steer between the islands to the Hellespont and destroy the bridges. Eurybiades advised the contrary, and dwelt on the dangers of shutting up Xerxes, as all the states in Europe would be probably obliged either by capitulation or treaty to join him, and his army could subsist on the yearly produce of Greece. He therefore proposed that the Greeks should let Xerxes depart, and afterwards fight him in his own country, and with this plan the other Peloponnesians agreed.

Themistocles advises Athenians to remain.—Themistocles, finding himself in a minority, advised the Athenians, who even desired to sail to the Hellespont by themselves, to remain in Greece and repair their houses and till the soil, and to proceed against the Hellespont and Ionia at the beginning of the spring. This he did to secure an asylum in Persia in case he should be disgraced in Athens. He then sent Sicinnus (c. 75) to say to Xerxes that Themistocles the Athenian had withheld the Greeks from destroying the bridges. 109

Themistocles demands money from the islanders: invests Andros.—[The Greek fleet Islands in the Ægean. appears now to have stayed amongst the Cyclades to punish the islanders who had aided the enemy. Themistocles seized this opportunity of enriching himself at their expense.] He first demanded money from Andros, and when the Andrians refused it, he told them that the Athenians had brought with them two powerful deities, Persuasion and Force. The Andrians replied that they also had a pair of ill-conditioned deities who would not leave their island, nor let them comply with the will of the Athenians, Poverty and Inability. The Greeks then remained and invested Andros, and Themistocles demanded money from other islands, threatening to besiege them if refused, and thus collected large sums from the Carystians and Parians, and probably from others, without the knowledge of his brother-ge- 111

nerals. Carystus, however, was afterwards ravaged by the Greeks (c. 121).

- 113 **Xerxes reaches Bœotia: Mardonius chooses his 300,000.**—Meanwhile Xerxes

had marched into Bœotia, escorted by Mardonius, who thought it best to winter in Thessaly, and invade Peloponnesus early in the spring. Whilst at Thessaly Mardonius chose his 300,000, viz. 1. The "Immortals," except their leader Hydarnes. 2. The Persian cuirassiers. 3. The 1000 chosen cavalry. 4. The whole force, horse and foot, of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. 5. Picked men from the other Barbarian tribes. Of these last the greatest part were Persians with necklaces and

- 114 bracelets, and next to them were Medes. Whilst Xerxes was in Thessaly, the Lacedæmonians, in obedience to an oracle, sent him a herald demanding satisfaction for the death of Leonidas. Xerxes laughed and said, that Mardonius would give them satisfaction.

- 115 **Xerxes reaches the Hellespont.**—Xerxes
Route over
the Helles-
pont to
Sardis. now left Mardonius in Thessaly and marched to the Hellespont, which he reached in 45 days, with only a remnant of his army.

Throughout the route the troops devoured the crops, and when these failed, their hunger forced them to eat grass, bark, and leaves. The plague and dysentery destroyed many on their way; others were left sick in Thessaly, Siris of Pæonia, and Macedonia. In Macedonia Xerxes had left the sacred car of Zeus, which he did not recover in his retreat, for the Pæonians having given it to the Thracians, declared that the mares had been stolen by the Upper Thracians, who dwell round the sources of

- 116 the Strymon (iii. 40). Here a Thracian king of the Bisaltians and Crestonians, being angry with his six sons for joining the Persian contrary to his commands, plucked out their eyes on their return.
- 117 **Arrives at Sardis.**—On reaching the Hellespont, Xerxes crossed in ships, as the bridges had been broken up by a storm. During the halt provisions were supplied more plentifully, and many troops died of repletion; the rest with Xerxes reached Sardis.

Story of his voyage.—A story is told, that when 118
 Xerxes had arrived at Eion, on the Strymon, he left his
 army with Hydarnes, and sailed in a Phœnician ship to
 Asia. During the voyage a storm overtook the ship, and
 the pilot having declared that it must be lightened, it was
 only saved by the devotion of the Persians, who imme-
 diately leaped overboard. Xerxes, on landing, gave the
 pilot a golden crown for saving his life, and beheaded
 him for causing the loss of the Persians. Herodotus does 119
 not believe this story, for he thinks that Xerxes would
 have saved the Persian nobles who accompanied him, and
 thrown overboard the Phœnician rowers. Moreover, it is 120
 proved that Xerxes reached Abdera, which is nearer to
 the Hellespont than Eion, for he there gave a golden
 scimitar and embroidered tiara to the Abderites, who,
 however, say that Abdera was the first place after Athens
 where Xerxes loosened his girdle.

Greeks share the spoil of the war: dedi- 121
cate the choicest to Delphi.—Meanwhile the
 Greeks, having been unable to reduce Andros, ravaged
 Carystus, and returned to Salamis. Here they set apart
 three Phœnician triremes; one to be dedicated at the
 Isthmus; a second at Sunium; and a third to Ajax at
 Salamis. They then divided the booty, and sent the first-
 fruits to Delphi, from which a statue, 12 cubits [18 feet]
 high was made, holding the beak of a ship. The oracle 122
 at Delphi then said, that the Greek offerings were ac-
 ceptable, save those from the Æginetans, who, thereupon,
 gave three golden stars upon a brazen mast.

Ballot for prizes.—After this the Greeks 123
 held a ballot at the altar of Poseidon at the
 Isthmus, to adjudge the prize of valour to
 the first and second best. For the first prize every com-
 mander voted for himself, but Themistocles won the se-
 cond by a great majority; and though the captains from 124
 envy would not award it, yet he was extolled as the
 wisest man throughout Greece.

Themistocles honoured at Lacedæmon.—
 He afterwards went to Sparta, and was highly
 honoured, for the Spartans gave him a wreath of olive
 as a prize for wisdom and skill, whilst Eurybiades re-

Salamis.

Isthmus of
Corinth.

Sparta.

- ceived the same for valour. He also received the most splendid chariot in the city, and was escorted to the Tegean boundaries by 300 chosen Spartans, an honour
- 125 which had never been conferred before. On his return to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidna, through envy, told him that the Lacedæmonians had honoured him from respect for Athens, and not for himself. To which Themistocles replied: "Were I a Belbinite, the Spartans would not have honoured me; nor would they you, fellow, were you an Athenian."
- 126 **ARTABAZUS'S ARMY DROWNED AT POTIDÆA.**—
MACEDONIA. Meanwhile Artabazus had escorted Xerxes
Potidæa. to the strait with 60,000 troops from the forces of Mardonius, and on his return besieged Potidæa, which had revolted on learning the defeat at Salamis.
- 127 Suspecting the same thing of the Bottiæans, who, having been expelled by the Macedonians from the Gulf of Therma, now held Olynthus, he also besieged their city, and having taken the inhabitants to a marsh and slaughtered them, he gave it to the Chalcidians, and appointed
- 128 Critobulus governor. He then pursued the siege of Potidæa, and treated with Timoxenus, general of the Scionæans, for betraying the city, by shooting an arrow with papyrus under the feathers. The plot was discovered by one of the arrows wounding a Potidæan, but the citizens did not impeach Timoxenus, out of respect for the
- 129 Scionæans. After a three months' siege, a violent ebb of the sea made the bay fordable, and Artabazus tried to cross over to Pallene; but when he had proceeded two-fifths of the distance, a flood-tide came on and overwhelmed his army, and many of even those who could swim were slain by the Potidæans. Artabazus then joined Mardonius in Thessaly with the survivors. The Potidæans say that the Persians were punished for having profaned the shrine and image of Poseidon in their suburb.
- 130 **XERXES' FLEET OF 300 SHIPS WATCH IONIA,**
Asiatic Greece. 479.—The remainder of Xerxes' fleet wintered at Cyma, and in the spring assembled at Samos, where also some ships had wintered. Here they were joined by their admirals, Mardontes, Artayntes, and Itha-

mitres, making with the Ionians 300 sail. They here watched Ionia lest it should rebel, and though desponding by sea, yet they were confident of the success of Mardonius on land.

Ionians beg the Greeks to free them : Greek fleet sails to Delos.—On the approach of spring, the Greeks were aroused by finding Mardonius still in Thessaly. Their land-forces were not yet mustered, but their fleet, amounting to 110 ships, sailed to Ægina under Leoty-chides, (vi. 65, 67,) who was descended through Hyllus from Heracles, and belonged to the second branch of the royal family of Sparta. The Athenians were commanded by Xanthippus (vi. 131). When the ships had assembled, ambassadors, including Herodotus, son of Basilides, came from Ionia to beseech the Greeks to deliver the Ionians. These ambassadors, originally seven in number, had previously conspired against Strattis, the tyrant of Chios, but one of them having betrayed their intention, the other six had fled from Chios, and gone first to Sparta and now to Ægina. The Greek fleet then sailed to Delos, but fear prevented their going more easterly, for they were both ignorant of the seas, and supposed them to be filled with the enemies' fleet. Samos to them was as distant as the Pillars of Heracles. At the same time, fear also kept the Barbarian fleet from sailing farther westward than Samos.

Mardonius sends Mys to consult the oracles.—Meantime Mardonius prepared to march from Thessaly, and sent a native of Europus, named Mys, to consult the different oracles. This Mys arrived at Lebadea and descended into the Trophonian cave. He also went to Abæ in Phocis, and to the Ismenian Apollo in Thebes, where, as at Olympia, the answer is deduced from victims. He also bribed a stranger who was not a Theban, to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus in Thebes, for the Thebans may not themselves consult the oracle, having chosen the god as an ally and not as a prophet. Mys also went to the precinct of Apollo Ptous, which belongs to the Thebans, and lies above the lake Copais, close to Acræphia. The Thebans say that Mys went to the temple with three

NORTHERN
GREECE.
—
Thessaly.

chosen citizens to write down the answer, which, to the surprise of the latter, the head-prophet pronounced in a Barbarian tongue. Mys then took their tablet and wrote down what the prophet had said, declaring that it was in the Carian language.

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CENTRAL
GREECE.
—
Athens.

Sends Alexander to Athens.—Mardonius,

having read the answers from the oracles, sent Alexander, son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, (v. 21,) as ambassador to Athens, whom he selected, 1st, because he was allied to the Persians by the marriage of his sister to Bubaces, and 2nd, because he was a friend and benefactor of the Athenians. Mardonius therefore hoped by his influence to get the upper hand of the Greeks, being perhaps advised by the oracles.

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Descent of Alexander: story of Perdiccas.—The seventh ancestor of this Alexander was Perdiccas, who obtained the sovereignty of Macedonia as follows. Three brothers, Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, fled from Argos to Illyria, and from there to Lebæa in Upper Macedonia, where they hired themselves to the king as servants. In those early times the queen herself cooked the food, and she observing that the bread she set out for Perdiccas always swelled to double its size, informed the king, who, looking upon it as a portentous miracle, ordered the three brothers to leave the country. The brothers demanded their wages, when the king, seeing the sun shining down the chimney said, "That is fitting wages for you." Upon this Perdiccas accepted the omen, and traced with his knife the outline of the sunshine, and received the rays three times on his bosom, and then de-

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parted with his brothers. The king, hearing of this action, despatched horsemen after them, but a river rose to such a height after the three had crossed it, that it stopped the horsemen. The three then settled in another quarter of Macedonia, near the gardens of Midas, son of Gordius, where wild roses spring up with 60 flower-leaves, and where Silenus was taken; above it is Mount Bermius, inaccessible from the cold. Sallying from

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there, the three subdued Macedonia. Alexander was thus descended: Amyntas, Alcetas, Aëropus, Philip, Argæus, Perdiccas.

Alexander's speech to the Athenians.—Alexander, 140
having arrived at Athens, told the Athenians that Mar-
donius had received a message from Xerxes, saying, that
the king forgave the Athenians, and begged Mardonius
to restore them their territory, and to give them another
country, and suffer them to live under their own laws and
rebuild their temples; upon condition that they came to
terms. Alexander then mentioned the great power of
Xerxes, adding, that the Athenian territory was the most
exposed to his armies, and that they were peculiarly
honoured by Xerxes, in his thus forgiving their offences
alone.

Spartans send to Athens.—Meantime the Lacedæmo- 141
nians, having heard of Alexander's arrival, and remem-
bering the oracle, which stated that they with the other
Dorians should be driven from the Peloponnesus by the
Medes and Athenians, sent ambassadors to Athens, who
arrived just as Alexander had finished his speech; for
the Athenians had put off the audience in expectation of
their arrival. These ambassadors then entreated the Athe- 142
nians not to listen to Alexander, seeing that they had
kindled the war without the consent of the Lacedæmo-
nians, though now it extended to all Greece: moreover,
as the Athenians had asserted the freedom of so many na-
tions, they ought not to be the cause of slavery in Greece:
meanwhile, as the Lacedæmonians sympathized with their
having lost two years' crops, they offered to keep the wives
and families of the Athenians for the remainder of the
war. The ambassadors also begged them not to be won
over by Alexander, for, being a tyrant, he aided a tyrant's
cause, and with Barbarians there was neither faith nor
truth.

Athenians reply to Alexander.—The Athenians told 143
Alexander that they knew the Medes were most powerful,
but that they would defend themselves as far as they were
able; and they bade him tell Xerxes that as long as the
sun held its course they would never ally with him, but
would face and withstand him, trusting in the gods, who
would fight for them, and in the heroes, whose dwellings
and images he had destroyed. They then begged Alex-
ander himself never to bear such proposals to them again,

as they were unwilling to ill-treat him who was their guest and friend.

- 144 **Reply to the Spartans.**—The Athenians then replied to the Spartans, by saying that they entertained an unworthy dread of the Athenians, for no country nor gold could ever tempt them to join the Mede in enslaving Greece ; for, 1st, They must avenge the temples and images of their gods, which were laid in ruins ; and 2nd, The Greeks were of the same blood and language, and had the same gods, sacrifices, and customs, and they could not betray them. They concluded by saying, that whilst one Athenian was left alive, they would never come to terms with Xerxes ; that they would not accept the offer of the Lacedæmonians to support their wives and families ; and that the Lacedæmonians should at once send an army against the Barbarian, that they might meet him in Bœotia, before he reached Attica.

BOOK IX. CALLIOPE.

HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN EXPEDITION TILL THE DEFEAT AT
PLATÆA AND MYCÆLE, AND THE SIEGE OF SESTOS. B. C. 479.

ANALYSIS.

I. *Movements of the Greek and Persian armies till the battle of Platæa and siege of Thebes.*

Mardonius marches from Thessaly: takes Athens.—Sends Murychides to the Athenians at Salamis.—Athenians send to Sparta.—Reception of their ambassadors.—Ephori send 5000 Spartans and 35,000 Helots.—Ambassadors follow with 5000 Lacedæmonians.—Mardonius burns Athens and Megara.—Encamps at the Asopus from Erythræ to Platæa.—A Persian predicts his overthrow.—His treatment of 1000 Phocians.—Allied Greek army encamp at Mount Cithæron.—Charged by cavalry under Masistius: Masistius slain.—Leave Cithæron and form near Gargaphia.—Tegeans claim a wing.—Athenians dispute it.—Position of the allied armies at the battle of Platæa.—Greeks offer sacrifices: stories of Tisamenus and Melampus.—Sacrifices unfavourable: story of Hegesistratus.—Mardonius intercepts the Greek reinforcements.—Resolves on battle.—Alexander informs the Greeks.—Each army changes its position.—Mardonius proposes to decide the battle by a separate combat.—Greeks resolve to remove to Oëroë.—All the Greeks except the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, and Athenians retreat to the temple of Hera: Amompharetus refuses to remove.—Lacedæmonians and Tegeans retreat along the hills to Oëroë, and Athenians through the plain.—Lacedæmonians pursued by Mardonius.—Send to Athenians for aid.—Athenians attacked by Greek auxiliaries in the Persian army.—Battle of Platæa, Sept. 479.—Mardonius slain: Barbarians routed.—Persians fly to their wooden walls at Thebes.—Artabazus flies to Phocis.—Review of the battle.—Pursuit of the Persians: 600 Megarians and Phliasians slain.—Wooden wall taken: slaughter of the Persians.—Nations and men most signalized.—Feats of Sophanes the Decelean at Platæa, etc.—Account of the Deceleans.—Pharandates's concubine, surrenders to Pausanias.—Mantineans and Eleans arrive too late.—Pausanias refuses to expose Mardonius.—Collects the booty.—Offerings from the spoil.—Pausanias in Mardonius's tent.—Curiosities on the battle-field.—Burial of the dead.—Greeks besiege Thebes: Theban allies of Xerxes slain.—Artabazus reaches Asia.

Chap. I—89.

II. *Battle of Mycale and siege of Sestos.*

Three Samian ambassadors go to the Greeks at Delos.—Deiphonius the Greek diviner offers sacrifice: account of his father Evenius.—Greek fleet sail for Samos.—Persians retreat to Mycale.—Greeks follow to Mycale.—Both armies form and advance on each other.—Battle of Mycale.—The slair.—Nations most signalized.—Greeks sail to Samos and the Hellespont: debate on Ionia.—Persians escape to Sardis: quarrel of Artayntes and Masistes. Chap. 90—107.

§ Story of Xerxes: his amour with Artaynta.—Amestris mutilates Masistes' wife.—Masistes slain. Chap. 107—113.

Greeks reach Abydos: Peloponnesians return home: Athenians besiege Sestos.—Sestos taken.—Artayctes crucified.—Athenians return to Greece.—Story of Artembares. Chap. 114—122.

SUMMARY.

I. *Movements of the Greek and Persian armies till the battle of Plataea and siege of Thebes, chap. 1—89.*

- 1 **Athens.** **Mardonius marches from Thessaly: takes Athens, 479.**—When Mardonius had heard the message from the Athenians brought by Alexander, he left Thessaly, and rapidly marched to Athens, pressing the people on his route into his service. The Thessalian leaders urged him onwards, and Thorax of Larissa, (one of the *Aleuadae*, vii. 6,) who had assisted in escorting Xerxes to the Hellespont, now gave him a passage.
- 2 On reaching Bœotia, the Thebans advised Mardonius to encamp there, and send money to the chief men in the Greek cities, by which he would create factions in Greece,
- 3 and render it an easy prey. Mardonius, however, was vehemently desirous of again taking Athens, and making it known to the king at Sardis by fire-signals over the islands. He therefore at once proceeded, and finding that the Athenians had retired to their ships at Salamis, again took the city, 10 months after its capture by Xerxes.
- 4 **Sends Murychides to the Athenians at Salamis.**—From Athens he sent Murychides to Salamis with the same proposals that were made by Alexander, thinking

that the Athenians would be less obstinate now that he had taken Attica. Murychides delivered his message 5 before the Athenian council, and Lycidas proposed that it should be received and referred to the commons ; for this Lycidas was stoned by the mob, and his wife and family by the women, but Murychides was dismissed unhurt.

Athenians send to Sparta.—The Atheni-
ans had remained at Athens with the vain Lacedæmon. 6
hope that the Peloponnesians would oppose the enemy in Bœotia ; but on hearing that Mardonius was advancing, they had crossed to Salamis, sending ambassadors to blame the Lacedæmonians for the delay, to remind them of the offers of Mardonius, and to threaten to find other means of escape. At this time the Lacedæmonians were 7 celebrating the Hyacinthia and building the wall at the Isthmus. The Athenian ambassadors came, with others from Megara and Platæa, and thus addressed the ephori : “ The Athenians bid us say that they rejected the offers of Xerxes, (viii. 140,) and will never willingly come to terms with him ; but that you, after you were assured of this resolution, and had fortified your Isthmus, have utterly disregarded the Athenians. They are now justly enraged at you for not keeping your promise of advancing with them to meet Mardonius in Bœotia ; and they insist upon your joining them with all expedition, and engaging the enemy in the Thriasian plain.”

Reception of their ambassadors.—The ephori put off 8 their answer from day to day for 10 days, all the Peloponnesians working at the wall, which was now nearly completed. Herodotus thinks that the previous anxiety of the Lacedæmonians lest the Athenians should join the Mede, (viii. 142,) arose from the unfinished state of this wall, but now that it was nearly completed, they thought they stood in no further need of the Athenians.

Ephori send 5000 Spartans and 35,000 Helots.—At 9 last, Chileus of Tegea, who had more influence in Lacedæmon than any other stranger, having been informed by the ephori of what had been said, assured them, that though they had walled the Isthmus, yet unless the Athenians were united with them, wide doors leading into

- 10 Peloponnesus would be open to the Persians. Upon this, the ephori, without any notice to the ambassadors, sent off, by night, 5000 Spartans, with seven Helots to each, under Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, who acted as guardian for Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas. (Cleombrotus had led back the army from the Isthmus, because a solar eclipse happened whilst he was sacrificing against the Persians, and he died soon afterwards, viii. 70.) Pausanias chose Euryanax, son of Dorieus, as his colleague.
- 11 **Ambassadors follow with 5000 Lacedæmonians.**—The next day, the ambassadors again went to the ephori, and threatened that the Athenians would join Xerxes, when the ephori declared that those who had gone to fight the foreigners were already at Oresteum. The ambassadors then learnt the truth, and immediately followed the force with another body of 5000 heavy-armed Lacedæmonians,
- 12 chosen from the neighbourhood of Sparta. The Argives, hearing this, sent their swiftest courier to inform Mardonius that they had been unable to prevent the Spartans from marching as they had previously promised to do.
- 13 **Mardonius burns Athens and ravages Athens.** **Megara.**—Mardonius then burnt Athens, and totally destroyed its buildings, having previously spared the country in hopes of bringing the Athenians to terms. He then retreated from Attica, because the country was not adapted for cavalry, and, if conquered, he could only escape through defiles where a handful of men might intercept him. He then marched towards Thebes, but learning that 1000 Lacedæmonians had reached Megara, wheeled round there and scoured the country with his cavalry. This was the farthest western point reached by the Persians.
- 15 **Encamps at the Asopus from Erythræ to Platæa.** **Platæa.**—Mardonius afterwards heard that the Greeks had assembled at the Isthmus, and therefore marched back through Decelea; for the Bœotian chiefs had sent for the people bordering on the Æsopians, who had guided him by Sphendale, Tanagra, and Scolus to the Theban territory. Here he was obliged to cut down the trees, though the Thebans were friendly, to fortify a refuge, in case of defeat. His camp extended

along the Asopus from Erythræ to Plataea, but the fortified wall was 10 stadia [$1\frac{1}{2}$ miles] square.

A Persian predicts his overthrow.—Meantime Attaginus, a Theban, invited Mardonius and 50 of his officers to a feast at Thebes. Amongst the guests was Thersander the Orchomenian, who afterwards related the following incident to Herodotus. He said that “a Persian and Theban were placed on each couch, and that whilst they were drinking freely after supper, the Persian who sat on the same couch with him, told him with tears that in a short time there would be few survivors of all the guests and army; and that as it was fated by the deity it would be of no use to represent the truth to Mardonius.” Thersander also related the same to many persons before the battle of Plataea. 16

His treatment of 1000 Phocians.—When Mardonius 17 first encamped at Bœotia, the Phocians furnished no men; but they now sent 1000 heavy-armed troops under Harmocydes, whom Mardonius ordered to station themselves on the plain apart from the rest of the army. These he then encircled by his cavalry, brandishing their javelins. The 18 Phocians thought they had been calumniated by the Thes-salians, and expected instant death, but formed themselves into a circle and stood firm until Mardonius called off the cavalry, and sent a herald to the Phocians praising them for their unexpected valour.

Allied Greek army encamp at Mount Cithæron.— 19 The Lacedæmonians had now reached the Isthmus, and being joined by all their Peloponnesian allies and finding the victims favourable, advanced to Eleusis, where the Athenians joined them. The allied army then reached Erythræ in Bœotia, and encamped at the foot of Mount Cithæron, opposite to the Barbarians, who were stationed on the Asopus.

Charged by cavalry under Masistius: Masistius slain. 20 —Mardonius expected that the Greeks would descend into the plain, but seeing that they did not move, he sent his entire body of horse against them under its own commander Masistius. This officer was of great repute and second only to Mardonius. He rode a Nisæan charger

- with a gilt bridle, and gorgeously caparisoned. The cavalry charged in squadrons, and called the Greeks
- 21 women. The Megarians were most exposed, and being hard pressed, sent to the Greek generals, and were reinforced by 300 Athenian volunteers under Olympiodorus.
- 22 These fought in the van of the Greeks, having some archers with them. The horse of Masistius was at length wounded by an arrow and threw its rider, whom the Greeks slew by piercing him in the eye, as a cuirass
- 23 shielded his body. The cavalry then charged in a body to recover the corpse, and an obstinate struggle took place. At first the 300 Athenians gave way and were forced to resign it, but being reinforced by the Greeks, they recovered the prize, and drove back the enemy, who first retired about two stadia, [$\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile,] and then
- 24 retreated to Mardonius. On their return to the camp, the whole army mourned the death of Masistius, and cut off their own hair and that of their horses and beasts ;
- 25 for he was most esteemed next to Mardonius. The Greeks placed the corpse, which was tall and handsome, on a chariot, and drew it along the line, and the troops ran out from their ranks to view it.

Leave Cithæron and form near Gargaphia.—The Greeks, elated with their success, now marched along the foot of Cithæron, and near Hysiaë, into Platea, and formed in line nation by nation, near the fountain Gargaphia, and the precinct of the hero Androcates. Here the

26 Tegeans and Athenians disputed as to who should occupy the left wing.*

Tegeans claim a wing.—The Tegeans said that the station had been granted to them by the Peloponnesians ever since the Heraclidæ had attempted to return to the Peloponnesus, after the death of Eurystheus. They had then marched with the Achæans and Ionians to resist the invaders, when Hyllus proposed to decide the contest by single combat. Upon this their own general, Echemus, fought and slew Hyllus, and ever since that time they had been allowed to occupy a wing. They concluded by saying that they willingly gave up to the

* The Lacedæmonians always chose which wing they pleased.

Lacedæmonians the command of one wing, but thought that they had a better right than the Athenians to lead the other.

Athenians dispute it.—To this the Athenians replied, 27 that though they knew that they had assembled to fight the Barbarian and not for disputes, yet, as the Tegeans had mentioned their own exploits, they thought it necessary to prove that they were entitled to a higher rank than the Arcadians. 1st, When the Heraclidæ were banished by all the Greeks, they had received them, and quelled Eurystheus by conquering the Peloponnesians. 2nd, When the Argives who marched with Polynices against Thebes were killed and lay unburied, they had marched against the Cadmeans, recovered the bodies, and buried them at Eleusis. 3rd, They had performed a valiant exploit against the Amazons, who invaded Attica from the Thermodon. 4th, They had been inferior to none at the Trojan war. 5th, They alone had fought single-handed with the Persian at Marathon, and conquered 46 nations. Notwithstanding, however, all these claims, they declared themselves willing to submit to the decision of the Lacedæmonians. Upon this, the Lacedæmonians declared in 28 favour of the Athenians. The Athenians were commanded by Aristides, son of Lysimachus (viii. 79).

Position of the Rival Armies at the Battle of Plataea, chap. 28—32.

N. B. Each Spartan was attended by seven Helots, and each heavy-armed troop of all the other nations was attended by one light-armed.

Heavy and light-armed troops.	GREEKS & ALLIES.		BARB. & ALLIES.		
	Nations.		Nations.	Troops.	
LEFT WING, extending to the Asopus.	40000 { Spartans. Helots.				LEFT WING.
	10000 Lacedæmonians.			Persians.	
	3000 Tegeans.				
	10000 Corinthians.				
	600 Potidæans.			Medes	
	1200 Orchomenians.				
	6000 Sicyonians.				
	1600 Epidaurians.				
	2000 Træzenians.				
	400 Lepreates.			Bactrians	
	800 { Mycenæans and Tirynthians.				
	2000 Phliasians.				
	600 Hermionians.				
	1200 { Eretrians and Styreans.			Indians	
	800 Chalcidians.				
RIGHT WING, beginning at Gargaphia.	1000 Ambraciots.				RIGHT WING.
	1600 { Leucadians and Anactorians.			Sacæ	
	400 Cephallenians.				
	1000 Æginetans.				
	6000 Megarians.			Greeks, including 1000 Phocians	
	1200 Plateans.				
	16000 Athenians.				
107400					350,000
1800 light-armed Thespians.					
800 not accounted for: perhaps included some Phocians who would not join Mar-donius.					
110,000 Tot. mentd. by Herodotus.					

With the above were mingled Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, Ethiopians, etc.; including also Hermotybiens and Calasirians, who are the only Egyptians that are warriors (li. 164).

Greeks offer sacrifices: stories of Tisamenus and Melampus.—Both armies being stationed, on the second day they offered sacrifices. Tisamenus, son of Antiochus, sacrificed for the Greeks. He was an Elean, and the Pythia had foretold that he should win five great combats. Mistaking the oracle, he practised gymnastics, and nearly won an Olympic prize, when the Lacedæmonians, having learnt that the oracle meant martial and not gymnastic contests, tried to bribe him to lead their army in conjunction with their kings. This Tisamenus refused, unless they would grant him the rights of a Spartan citizen, with which the Spartans would not comply, till forced by their fear of the Persians. Tisamenus now declared that his brother Hegias must also be made a Spartan, which at length was granted. In this proceeding Tisamenus imitated Melampus, who, when the Argives wanted him to cure their women of madness, demanded one half of the kingdom, and when this was at length agreed to, asked for one third more for his brother Bias, which they were at last constrained to grant. The five victories gained by Tisamenus were, 1st, At Plataea. 2nd, At Tegea, against the Tegeans and Argives. 3rd, At Dipea, against all the Arcadians except the Mantineans. 4th, At Ithome, against the Messenians. And 5th, At Tanagra, against the Athenians.

Sacrifices unfavourable: story of Hegesistratus.—Tisamenus having officiated, the sacrifices proved favourable to the Greeks if they stood on the defensive, but otherwise if they crossed the Asopus. The sacrifices of Mardonius were also unfavourable, unless he stood on the defensive. His diviner was Hegesistratus, an Elean, who had been previously confined by the Spartans, but escaped by cutting off the broad part of his foot, and so disengaging it from his bonds, and then flying to Tegea. When healed of his wound he used a wooden foot, and openly declared himself the enemy of the Lacedæmonians. He was now hired for a large sum by Mardonius, but many years afterwards was taken prisoner and slain by the Lacedæmonians at Zacynthus. The Greeks in the Persian army had also a diviner, Hippomachus a Leucadian, whose answer was the same as the others,

and thus the sacrifices of all parties proved unfavourable.

- 39 **Mardonius intercepts the Greek reinforcements.**—Eight days had passed since the armies were posted opposite to each other, and, meanwhile, as the Greeks were rapidly increasing, Timagenides, a Theban, advised Mardonius to occupy the passes of Mount Cithæron, where he could be able to intercept further reinforcements. Accordingly, at night-fall, Mardonius sent cavalry to the passes of Cithæron which lead towards Plataea, and are called by the Bœotians “The Three Heads,” and by the Athenians, “Oak’s Heads.” These took 500 provision beasts coming from the Peloponnesus, and slew both animals and drivers.
- 40 Two more days passed without a battle, though the cavalry of Mardonius, urged by the Thebans, constantly harassed the Greeks, and the Barbarians advanced to the Asopus, but neither army would cross it.
- 41 **Resolves on battle.**—Ten days having thus elapsed, Artabazus (viii. 126) advised Mardonius to retreat to Thebes, where there was a store of provision and forage, and there try to bribe the Greek leaders to surrender without a battle. This advice was supported by the Thebans, but Mardonius, from the superiority of his army, determined on engaging, in spite of the victims, and no
- 42 one opposed him, as he held his command from Xerxes. Having summoned the different commanders, he asked if they knew of any oracle predicting that the Persians should perish in Greece. No one replying, Mardonius said that he knew of an oracle saying that “the Persians should perish after sacking the temple of Delphi,” but that he did not intend sacking it. He then gave orders for
- 43 a battle to commence the next morning. The oracle quoted by Mardonius referred to the Enchelean Illyrians, and not to the Persians; but the following oracle had been pronounced by Bacis in reference to the battle:

“Greeks and Barbarians meet upon the banks
Of grassy Thermodon and Asopus,
And many of the Medes who bear the bow
Shall perish when the fated day is come.”

Other oracles were pronounced by Musæus.

Alexander informs the Greeks.—During the night, 44
and whilst both camps were buried in sleep, Alexander
of Macedon (viii. 136) rode to the Athenian outposts,
and begging a conference with their leaders, told them of 45
the intention of Mardonius to attack them in spite of the
victims; and urged them, if he should defer it, to remain
where they were, as provisions would soon fail the
Persians.

Each army changes its position.—This intelligence 46
being carried by the Athenian generals to Pausanias, he
proposed that the Athenians and Spartans should change
positions, that the Athenians might be opposed to the
Persians, whom they had conquered at Marathon, and the
Spartans to the Boeotians and Thessalians, with whose 47
mode of fighting they were familiar. This being agree-
able to the Athenians, the exchange was made; but
Mardonius, having learnt it from the Boeotians, made a
corresponding change in his line. Pausanias, perceiving
this, led back the Spartans to the right wing, whilst
Mardonius led back the Persians to the left.

**Mardonius proposes to decide the battle by a separate 48
combat.**—Both armies having resumed their original sta-
tions, Mardonius sent a herald, taunting the Spartans with
having retreated from their posts, and challenging them
to meet the Persians with equal numbers, and let that de-
cide the battle. No answer being given, Mardonius, 49
elated with his fancied victory, sent out his cavalry, who
harassed the Greeks by hurling javelins and shooting
arrows, and choked up the fountain of Gargaphia, (c.
25,) whence the Greek army obtained water, and near
which the Lacedæmonians were posted.

Greeks resolve to remove to Oëroë.—Being now de- 50
prived of water, harassed by cavalry, and short of pro-
visions, (c. 39,) the Greek generals consulted with Pau-
sanias at his post, and resolved, if the Persians deferred 51
the attack, to remove to the island called Oëroë,* which
is situated before Platæa, about 10 stadia [$1\frac{1}{4}$ mile] from

* The student must be careful not to confuse the river Asopus
with the rivulet Oëroë, for Larcher and the Eton Atlas are both in-
correct. See Baehr's Herod., Müller's Dor. vol. i., and Turner's
Notes.

the Asopus and Gargaphia, and is formed by the river Oëroë running into two streams for about three stadia [nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile]. There they would have plenty of water, and not be harassed by cavalry. They also resolved to march at the second watch of the night, and when there, to send half their forces to meet the convoy of provisions, which was shut up in Cithæron.

- 52 All the Greeks except the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, and Athenians retreat to the temple of Hera: Amompharetus refuses to move.—During the whole day, the Greek allies were harassed by the enemy's cavalry, but at night, as agreed, the majority marched away, not however to Oëroë, but to the temple of Hera, which stands before Platæa, about 20 stadia [$2\frac{1}{2}$ miles] from
- 53 Gargaphia. Pausanias, seeing them depart, ordered the Lacedæmonians to follow, which all the generals obeyed except Amompharetus, who refused to fly from foreigners. Pausanias and Euryanax tried in vain to persuade
- 54 him, and yet did not like to forsake him. During the dispute, the Athenians, who had also remained, sent a herald to ask of Pausanias what was to be done. He found the three generals in open quarrel. Amompharetus threw down a large stone at the feet of Pausanias, and exclaimed, "With this ballot-stone I give my vote, not to flee before the foreigners." Pausanias called him a fool and madman, and desired the Athenian messenger to inform the Athenians how matters stood, and beg them to join the Lacedæmonians and do as they did.
- 56 Lacedæmonians and Tegeans retreat along the hills to Oëroë, and Athenians through the plain.—At day-break, Pausanias gave the signal, and departed with the Lacedæmonians, followed by the Tegeans along the slopes and base of Cithæron, from fear of the cavalry; whilst
- 57 the Athenians marched through the plain. Amompharetus, finding himself forsaken, marched slowly on and joined the main body, which had halted for him at Argiopium, near the river Molceis, about 10 stadia [$1\frac{1}{4}$ miles] from their former camp.
- 58 Lacedæmonians pursued by Mardonius.—Meantime the Barbarian cavalry had found the Greek camp deserted, and commenced pursuit, whilst Mardonius re-

proached Thorax of Larissa, and his brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydeus, with having dreaded the Lacedæmonians, who had now fled in the night. He then led 59 the Persians across the Asopus and hastily pursued the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, the Athenians in the plain being shut out from his view by the hills. The other divisions of the Barbarians then followed without order and with loud shouts.

Send to Athenians for trial.—Pausanias, being now 60 closely pressed by the Barbarian cavalry, sent a messenger to the Athenians to say that both they and the Lacedæmonians had been betrayed by their allies, who had slunk away during the night [to the temple of Hera, instead of to Oëroë]; and to request that they would now march to his assistance, or at least despatch their archers.

Athenians attacked by Greek auxiliaries in the Per- 61 **sian army.**—The Athenians immediately advanced to relieve the Lacedæmonians, but on their way were attacked by the Greeks of the Barbarian army. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, being thus unassisted, offered sacrifice, and prepared to engage. But the victims were unfavourable, and the Persians, having made a fence with their wicker shields, showered their arrows on the Spartans.

Battle of Platæa, Sept. 479.—Pausanias now looked towards the temple of Hera at Platæa, and earnestly prayed the goddess not to disappoint his hopes. During 62 the prayer the Tegeans advanced against the Barbarians, and immediately afterwards the victims proved favourable to the Lacedæmonians, who advanced likewise. The Persians then cast away their bows, and a battle took place by the wicker fence, which being thrown down, an obstinate fight ensued near the temple of Demeter, the troops engaging hand to hand. The Persians fought bravely, seizing the javelins of the enemy, and breaking them to pieces; but being inexperienced and lightly armed, they fell before the Spartans.

Mardonius slain: Barbarians routed.—Mardonius, 63 mounted on a white horse, and at the head of 1000 chosen Persians, pressed vigorously on the enemy, till himself

- and his division were slain. The rest of the Barbarians then fled, having had to contend with heavy-armed troops, though without bucklers, and lightly armed. Mardonius thus fulfilled the oracle, which declared that he should pay to the Spartans the price of the blood of Leonidas; and Pausanias gained the most signal victory known. Mardonius was killed by Aimnestus, the Spartan, who subsequently fell at the head of 300 men, whilst fighting the Messenians at Stenyelerus.
- 64 **Persians fly to their camp.**—The Persians, being routed, fled to their camp, and the wooden wall they had built at Thebes (c. 15). Not one of them fell in the precinct of Demeter, because, as Herodotus thinks, the goddess would not receive the incendiaries, who burnt her temple at Eleusis.
- 65 **Artabazus flies to Phocis.**—Meanwhile Artabazus, who from the first had been displeased with Mardonius, had led out his division of 40,000, as if to join the battle, but seeing the flight of the Persians, he also fled to Phocis, wishing to reach the Hellespont.
- 66 **Review of the battle.**—The Greeks in the Barbarian army all behaved with voluntary cowardice, except the Thebans, who fought bravely against the Athenians, and retreated in good order to Thebes, covering the flight of the Persians, and leaving 300 dead on the field. Herodotus thinks, that on the Barbarian side every thing depended on the Persians, as, when they fled, the whole army did so, except the cavalry.
- 67 **Pursuit of the Persians: 600 Megarians, etc. slain.**—Meantime the Greeks stationed at the temple of Hera learnt that Pausanias had defeated the Persians. The Corinthians then took the road leading along the base of the mountains, to the precinct of Demeter, whilst the Megarians and Phliasiens marched across the plain. The Theban cavalry under Asopodorus saw the Megarians and Phliasiens moving without order, and suddenly fell upon them, cut 600 to pieces, and drove the rest into the defiles of Mount Cithæron.
- 68 **Wooden wall taken: Slaughter of the Persians.**—The Persians reached their wooden wall, (c. 15,) mounted the towers, and kept the Lacedæmonians at bay till the Athe-

nians came up. These were better skilled, and at length scaled the wall, and made a breach by which the Greeks poured in. The Tegeans entered first and plundered the tent of Mardonius, carrying away a brazen manger, which they afterwards placed in the temple of the Alean Athene. On the falling of the wall, the Persians were panic-struck, and slaughtered without resistance. Out of their army of 300,000 men not 3000 survived, beyond the 40,000 who had fled with Artabazus. The Spartans lost 91; the Tegeans, 16; and the Athenians, 52.

Nations and men most signalized.—The Persian infantry and Sacæ cavalry most distinguished themselves at Plataea on the side of the Barbarians, whilst Mardonius proved himself the bravest man. Amongst the Greeks the Lacedæmonians were first, from having conquered the strongest party; and the bravest man was Aristodemus, the sole survivor of the 300 who fell at Thermopylæ (vii. 229). This disgrace he retrieved by recklessly losing his life at Plataea. Next to him were Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus, who were all honoured except Aristodemus, whom the Spartans said was inferior to Posidonius, inasmuch as he had wished to die, and Posidonius had not. Callicratides, the handsomest Greek, was killed by an arrow before the battle, and said to Arimnestus that he only regretted his death as it had prevented his fighting for his country. Of the Athenians, Sophanes of Decelea was the most distinguished.

Account of the Deceleans.—The Deceleans had anciently attained great renown. When the Tyndaridæ [Castor and Pollux] invaded Attica in search of Helen, the Deceleans, or, as some say, Decelus himself, being indignant with Theseus, discovered to them the whole matter, and led them to Aphidnæ, which Titacus, a native of the place, then gave up to them. The Deceleans, in consequence, enjoy several immunities and privileges at Sparta; and in the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians spared Decelea, when they ravaged the rest of Attica.

Feats of Sophanes at Plataea, etc.—Two stories are told of the feats of Sophanes at Plataea. 1. That he carried an iron anchor, suspended to the girdle of his cuirass by a brass chain, to steady himself when charging the enemy; and,

- that on the flight of the enemy, he took up the anchor and joined the pursuit. 2. That he bore an anchor as a device on his shield, which he perpetually whirled about.
- 75 At the siege of Ægina, Sophanes also, in single combat, slew Eurybates the Argive, who had been victor in the pentathlum. He was afterwards killed by the Edonians, at Datus, when fighting for the gold-mines.
- 76 **Pharandates' concubine supplicates Pausanias.**—After the battle, the concubine of Pharandates, a Persian, having adorned herself, supplicated Pausanias to save her from slavery. Pausanias, learning that she had been violently carried from Cos, and was the daughter of Hegetorides, his dearest friend there, placed her in the hands of the ephori, and afterwards sent her to Ægina.
- 77 **Mantineans and Eleans arrive too late.**—The Mantineans arrived too late for the battle, and after expressing their grief, and owning their crime, desired to pursue Artabazus to Thessaly, but were dissuaded by the Lacedæmonians, and returned home and banished their leaders. After them the Eleans arrived, who were equally sorry, and on their return also exiled their leaders.
- 78 **Pausanias refuses to expose Mardonius.**—Lampon, son of Pytheas, (viii. 92,) a distinguished Æginetan, advised Pausanias to expose the body of Mardonius, in requital for the insults offered to Leonidas by Mardonius and Xerxes,
- 79 (vii. 238,) but Pausanias indignantly refused, affirming that Leonidas and those who fell at Thermopylæ were amply revenged by the multitudes that had fallen.
- 80 **Collects the booty.**—Pausanias, having proclaimed that none should touch the booty, ordered the Helots to collect the treasures, which consisted of an immense quantity of gold and silver vessels, ornaments, and decorations. The Helots stole a large portion and sold it to the Æginetans; and the wealth of the latter originated on the present occasion, as they bought the gold at the price of brass. The remainder, however, that could not be concealed, was brought to Pausanias.
- 81 **Offerings from the spoil.**—With a 10th of the spoil, a golden tripod, supported by a three-headed brazen serpent, was offered at Delphi; with another 10th, a brazen

Zeus, 10 cubits [15 feet] high, was dedicated at Olympia ; and with another 10th, a brazen Poseidon, seven cubits [10½ feet] high, was dedicated at the Isthmus. The rest, consisting of gold, silver, horses, camels, concubines, and other wealth, was divided according to deserts, Pausanias receiving a 10th, as his share.

Pausanias in Mardonius's tent.—Pausanias having 82 entered the tent of Mardonius, where Xerxes had left all his splendid furniture, ordered the cooks to serve a supper as if for Mardonius, and then his own servants to prepare a Spartan meal. Pointing out the difference between the two suppers, he remarked to his captains on the folly of Mardonius, who forsook such luxury to plunder such poverty.

Curiosities on the battle-field.—A long time after- 83 wards the Platæans found chests of gold and silver, and among the bones, a skull consisting of a single bone, an upper and lower jaw with the teeth all in one piece, and the skeleton of a man five cubits [7½ feet] high.

Burial of the dead.—The corpse of Mardonius dis- 84 appeared the day after the battle, and is commonly reported to have been buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian, but many persons received gifts from Atontes, son of Mardonius, for so doing. The Greeks buried their 85 dead after dividing the booty, each nation separately. The Lacedæmonians dug three graves, burying their young officers in one, the other Lacedæmonians in the second, and the Helots in the third. The Tegeans, Athenians, Megarians, and Phliasians, each buried theirs in separate spots. The nations not in the battle threw up empty mounds for the sake of appearances. Cleades, a Platæan, threw up one for the Æginetans 10 years after the battle.

Greeks besiege Thebes : Theban allies of 86 Xerxes slain.—After this the Greeks held Thebes in Boeotia. a council, at which they determined to attack Thebes, and demand the surrender of those who had sided with the Mede, and especially of Timagenides (c. 38) and Attaginus, (c. 15,) and if this was refused, they resolved not to leave the city till they had captured it. On the 11th day after the battle, they besieged

Thebes, and being refused their demand, ravaged the
 87 country and battered the wall. On the 20th day, Timagenides offered to plead his own cause with the besiegers, and the Thebans sent to tell Pausanias that
 88 they would surrender the man to him; but Attaginus fled, and his sons, being sent to the besiegers, were acquitted by Pausanias. The others, including Timagenides, thought to escape by bribery, but directly Pausanias got them, he disbanded the allied army, and carried the prisoners to Corinth, and there executed them.

89 **Artabazus reaches Asia.**—Meantime Artabazus (c. 66) in flying from Platæa reached Thessaly, where he concealed the news of the defeat, and advised the Thessalians to entertain Mardonius, who might be expected shortly. He then hastily marched towards Thrace, and reached Byzantium, after many of his troops had either perished from hunger and fatigue, or been cut off by the Thracians; and from there he and his army crossed over in boats to Asia.

II. *Battle of Mycale and siege of Sestos, chap. 90—122.*

- 90 **Three Samian ambassadors go to the**
 Asiatic
 Greece,
 and islands
 in the
 Egean.
Greeks at Delos.—On the same day that the Persian land-forces were defeated at Platæa, their fleet was routed at Mycale. The Greek fleet was still stationed under Leotychides at Delos, (viii. 132,) when three Samian ambassadors, Lampon, Athenagoras, and Hegesistratus, unknown to the tyrant Theomestor, came and entreated the Greek generals to attack the Persians and rescue Ionia, and offered to remain on board as hostages for the sincerity of the invitation.
 91 Leotychides, learning that the name of the speaker was Hegesistratus, [i. e. leader of an army,] accepted the omen, and merely obliged the three to pledge their faith
 92 that the Samians would be zealous allies. He then took Hegesistratus on board his fleet, and dismissed the other two; and on the following day, Deiphonus, the Greek diviner, offered sacrifices.
 93 **Account of Evenius.**—Evenius, father of Deiphonus, was a native of Apollonia. Here there are certain sheep sacred to the sun, and every year one of the chief citizens is elected to guard these sheep. One year Evenius was

chosen, and one night having fallen asleep, some wolves entered the cavern where the sheep were folded, and killed 60 ; and though Evenius hoped to hide this from the Apollonians by buying others and substituting them, yet he was discovered and deprived of sight. Immediately afterwards the country and flocks became barren, and the Apollonians, having consulted the oracles at Dodona and Delphi, were ordered to make Evenius whatever atonement he chose. Accordingly, keeping this answer secret, they artfully asked him what he would 94 consider a compensation, and upon his mentioning the two best estates and handsomest house in Apollonia, they caught up his words, and at once told him that the Apollonians would make him this reparation in obedience to an oracle. Evenius was much incensed at being so deceived [as, probably, if he had heard of the oracle he would have asked for more] ; but from that time he was inspired with powers of divination. Some say that Deiphonus 95 was not the son of this Evenius.

Greek fleet sail for Samos : Persians retreat to Mycale.—The victims offered by Deiphonus having proved favourable, the Greek fleet sailed for Samos, and reaching Calamus, prepared for action near the temple of Hera. The Persians, perceiving this, permitted the Phœnician squadron to sail home, and got their other ships under weigh for the continent, (viii. 130,) resolving not to engage by sea, but to take refuge under the 60,000 land-troops which Xerxes had left at Mycale under Tigranes. Accordingly, having arrived at the mouth of the Gæson 97 and Scolopœia, in Mycale, where stands a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter, they hauled their ships on shore, threw up a rampart of stone and wood fenced with sharp stakes, and prepared for a siege or an attack.

Greeks follow to Mycale.—The Greeks were vexed at 98 the escape of the Barbarians, and after debating whether to return home or go to the Hellespont, sailed away to Mycale. On nearing the coast and seeing the fortification and land-force, Leotychides advanced near the beach, and exhorted the Ionians by a herald to think of LIBERTY and to remember the watchword HEBE ; that

these words might have the same effect as those of Themistocles at Artemisium (viii. 22).

- 99 **Both armies form and advance.**—The Greeks then disembarked and formed on the shore, and the Persians seeing this, and knowing that they had admonished the Ionians, 1st, took away the arms of the Samians, whom they suspected of favouring the Greeks, because they had ransomed 500 Athenian prisoners who had been brought in the fleet from Attica; and 2nd, sent the Milesians to guard the passes along the heights of Mycale, pretending that they were the best acquainted with the country, but really wishing to remove them from the camp. They then formed a fence with their wicker bucklers (c. 61).
- 100 The Greeks, having formed, advanced upon the Barbarians, when a herald's staff was found upon the beach, and a rumour flew through their camp, that Mardonius had been defeated at Bœotia, which was a remarkable interposition, as the battle of Platæa took place on the same
- 101 day as that of Mycale, and in both places the action occurred near a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter. Inspired by the report, the Greeks advanced with fresh courage, and both they and the Barbarians hastened to the battle, looking upon Hellespont and the islands as the reward of victory.
- 102 **Battle of Mycale.**—The Athenians, with the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Træzenians, forming about half the army, occupied one wing, and had to march over level ground; whilst the Lacedæmonians formed the other wing, and had to make a circuit along a ravine and hills. The Athenian wing was first engaged, and having broken through the fence of bucklers, drove the enemy into their fortification, and took it by storm. Upon this all the Barbarians fled, except the Persians, who fought on till the Lacedæmonians came up and completed the rout.
- The slain.**—On the Persian side, Artayntes and Ithamitres, the naval generals, fled, whilst Mardontes and
- 103 Tigranes died fighting. Many of the Greeks fell, especially the Sicyonians and their leader, Perilaus. The Samians did their best to assist the Greeks, whilst the
- 104 other Ionians deserted and attacked the Persians; and

the Milesians on the heights led the Barbarian fugitives by wrong roads back to the Greeks, and then assisted in their massacre.

Nations most signalized.—In this battle, the bravest 105 nation amongst the Greeks was the Athenians, and the bravest Athenian was Hermolycus, who afterwards fell at Cyrrus, in the war between the Athenians and Carystians, and was buried at Geræstus. Next to the Athenians, the Corinthians, Troezenians, and Sicyonians most distinguished themselves.

Greeks sail to Samos and the Hellespont: debate on 106
Ionian.—The Greeks, having slain most of the Barbarians either in the battle or pursuit, collected their booty on the beach, and burned the enemy's ships and fortification. They then sailed to Samos, and debated if they should not transport the Ionians to Greece and leave Ionia to the Persians, as it would be impossible to stay and guard the country for ever. The Peloponnesians proposed that the Ionians should have the lands of those Greeks who had joined the Medes; but the Athenians would not consent to it, or that the Peloponnesians should advise concerning their colonies. The Peloponnesians then gave up the point; and the Greeks, having taken the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders who had assisted them, into their league, sailed to the Hellespont, to destroy the bridges, which they still expected to find there.

Persians escape to Sardis: quarrel of Artayntes and 107
Masistes.—The few Barbarians who escaped by the heights of Mycale, reached Sardis in safety, but on their way Masistes, brother of Xerxes, charged Artayntes with being more cowardly than a woman. Artayntes drew his scimitar to slay him, when Xenagoras of Halicarnassus threw him on the ground, and meanwhile the guards of Masistes came up. For this action Xerxes gave Xenagoras the government of Cilicia. (*Continued at chap. 114.*)

§ *Story of Xerxes.*

Xerxes' amour with Artaynta.—Xerxes had remained 108 at Sardis since his flight from Greece, and whilst there.

had fallen in love with the wife of Masistes, who refused to yield to him, and his relationship prevented his using violence. To gain his purpose, therefore, he married his own son Darius to her daughter, Artaynta, and proceeding to Susa, introduced Artaynta into his own house. His love for her mother was then transferred to Artaynta, with whom he was more successful.

- 109 **Amestris mutilates Masistes' wife.**—This amour was discovered from Xerxes giving a shawl to Artaynta, which had been woven for him by his wife Amestris.
- 110 This being told to Amestris, she attributed the gift to the influence of the mother of Artaynta, and in this fit of jealousy she asked Xerxes on his birthday, when he could not refuse any petition, to give her the wife of Masistes.
- 111 Xerxes was obliged to deliver her up, but sent for Masistes, and begged him to repudiate his wife, and offered to give him his own daughter in marriage instead. Masistes refused, and Xerxes left him in a rage, but meanwhile Amestris, sending for the royal guards, had cut off the breasts, nose, ears, lips, and tongue of the wife of Masistes, and sent her home.
- 113 **Masistes slain.**—Masistes, seeing his wife mutilated, consulted with his sons and departed for Bactria, of which he was satrap, in order to raise a rebellion; but Xerxes, learning his intention, sent an army after him and slew him and his sons and forces on their way, or otherwise they might have succeeded, as the Bactrians and Sacæ were much attached to Masistes.
-

- 114 **Greeks reach Abydos: Peloponnesians return home: Athenians besiege Sestos.**—Meanwhile the Greeks, having sailed from Mycale, were forced by contrary winds to anchor near Lectis, from whence they went to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken up (viii. 117). The Peloponnesians with Leotychides then sailed back to Greece, but the Athenians under Xanthippus crossed to Chersonesus and besieged Sestos. This was a strong city, to which the troops in the neighbourhood had assembled, on learning that the Greeks were in the Hel-

leapont ; and amongst others was Ceobazus, a Persian from Cardia, who had collected the remains of the bridges. Sestos was occupied by native Æolians, Persians, and other allies, and governed by Artayctes, (vii. 33,) an impious viceroy of Xerxes, who had plundered the tomb of Protesilaus at Elæus in the Chersonesus, and carried the treasure to Sestos ; ploughed and sowed the precinct ; and profaned the sanctuary. This Artayctes was unprepared for a siege, but on the arrival of autumn the Athenians begged their leaders to return, who however refused until Sestos should be taken, or they should be recalled.

Sestos taken.—Meantime the garrison being reduced till forced to eat the thongs of their beds, the Persians with Ceobazus and Artayctes fled by night from the back of the citadel, and in the morning the inhabitants opened their gates to the Athenians, who then seized the town.

Artayctes crucified.—Ceobazus fled through Thrace, but was seized by the Apsinthians and sacrificed to their god Pleistorus. Artayctes was taken above Ægos-Potamos, and after a sharp resistance was carried with his son to Sestos in chains. It is said by the Chersonitans, that on the road some salt-fish, which were being broiled by one of the sentinels, leaped from the fire like fish just caught, upon which Artayctes declared it to signify that though Protesilaus (c. 116) was dead and embalmed in salt, yet he had power from the gods to inflict vengeance. In place of the plunder which he took from the temple, he therefore offered to pay 100 talents [£24,000] to the god, and 200 talents [£48,000] to the Athenians as a ransom for himself and his son. Xanthippus, however, refused the offer, and at the request of the Elæans crucified Artayctes and stoned his son before his eyes.

Athenians return to Greece.—The Athenians then returned to Greece, taking with them various treasures and the rigging of the bridges, to dedicate in the temple. Nothing more was done this year.

Story of Artembares.—Artembares, the grandfather of Artayctes, proposed that the Persians should exchange their rugged territory for a better region, since they com-

manded all Asia. This being reported to Cyrus, he warned them that if they did so they must learn to be ruled and not to rule, for delicate men sprang from delicate countries. Then the Persians yielded to Cyrus, choosing rather to command in a barren land, than to be slaves in fertile plains.

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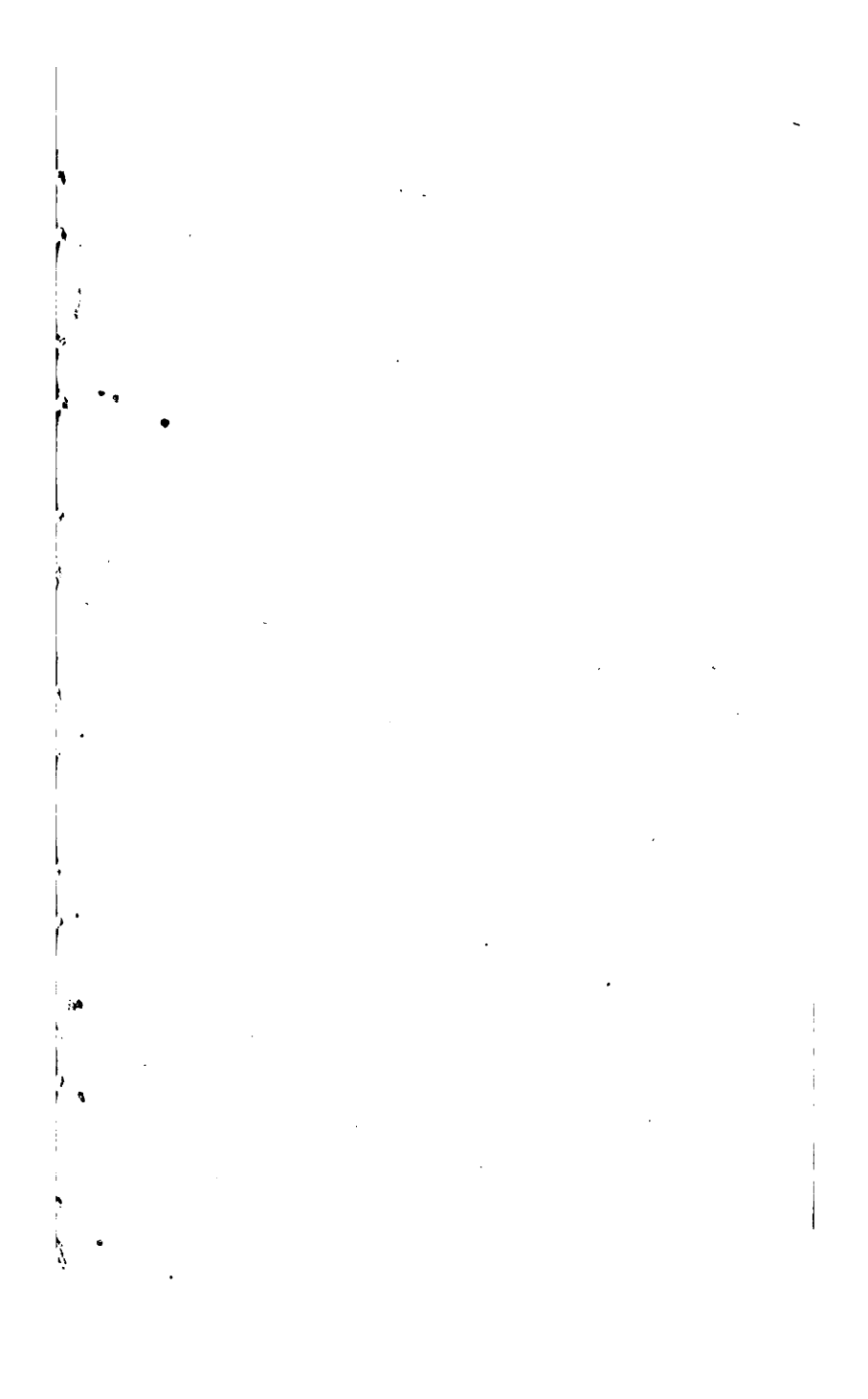
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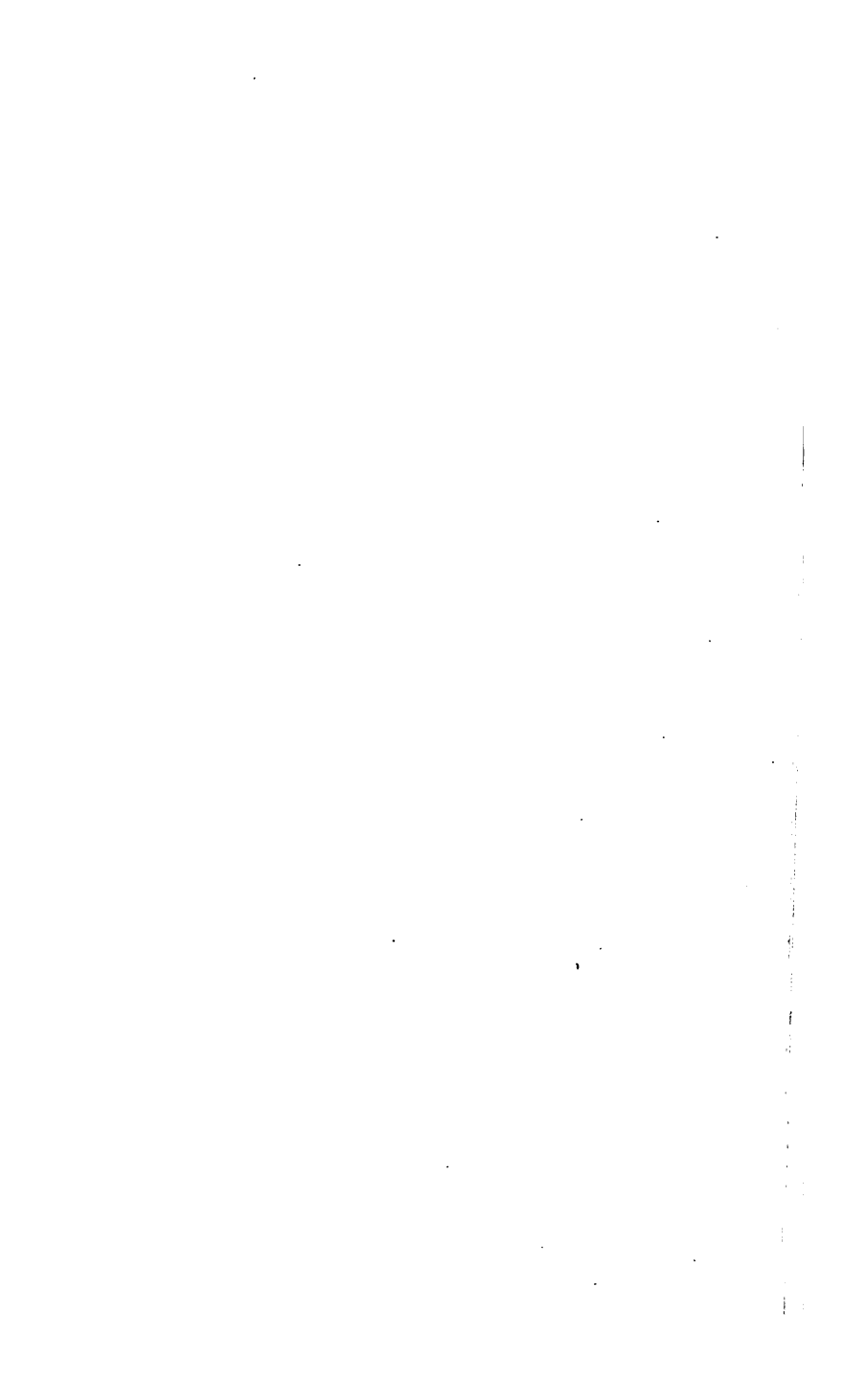
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